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COMMON SENSE;

ADDRESSED TO THE

INHABITANTS

OF

AMERICA,

On the following interesting

SUBJECTS.

I. Of the Origin and Design of Government in general, with concise Remarks on the English Constitution.

II. Of Monarchy and Hereditary Succession.

III. Thoughts on the present State of American Affairs.

IV. Of the present Ability of America, with some miscellaneous Reflections.

A NEW EDITION, with several Additions in the Body of the Work. To which is added an APPENDIX; together with an Address to the People called QUAKERS.

N. B. The New Addition here given increases the Work upwards of One-Third.

By Thomas Paine

*Man knows no Master save creating Heaven,
Or those whom Choice and common Good ordain.*

THOMSON,

PHILADELPHIA, PRINTED;

LONDON, RE-PRINTED,

for J. ALMON, opposite Burlington-House in Piccadilly. 1776.

COMMON SENSE

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INTRODUCTION.

the natural rights of all mankind, and extirpating
defenders thereof from the face of the earth, is the
right of every man to whom nature hath given the power
of doing; of which class, regardless of party censure,
AUTHOR.

S. The Publication of this new edition hath been
made, with a view of taking notice (had it been neces-
sary) of any attempt to refute the doctrine of independ-
ence. As no answer hath yet appeared, it is now presumed
none will appear, the time needful for getting such a
performance ready for the public being considerably past.
Tho the author of this production is, is wholly unneces-
sary to the public, as the object for attention is the Doctrine
of Independence, not the Man. Yet it may not be unnecessary to say
that he is unconnected with any party, and under no sort
of influence public or private, but the influence of reason
and principle.

Philadelphia, February 14, 1776. *Paine*

COMMON

I N T R O D U C T I O N

PERHAPS the sentiments contained in the following pages are not yet sufficiently fashionable to procure them general favor; a long habit of not thinking anything wrong, gives it a superficial appearance of right, and raises at first a formidable outcry in defence of custom. But the tumult soon subsides. Time more converts than reason.

As a long and violent abuse of power, is generally means of calling the rights of it in question, (and in matters too which might never have been thought of, had the sufferers been aggravated into the enquiry) and as the King of England hath undertaken in his own right to support the parliament in what he calls theirs, and the good people of this country are grievously oppressed by the combination they have an undoubted privilege to enquire into the pretensions of both, and equally to reject the usurpation of either.

In the following sheets the author hath studiously avoided every thing which is personal among ourselves. Compliments as well as censure to individuals make no part thereof. The wise, and the worthy, need not the triumph of a pamphlet; and those whose sentiments are judicious, or unfriendly, will cease of themselves, without too much pains are bestowed upon their conversion.

The cause of America is in a great measure the cause of all mankind. Many circumstances have arisen, and will arise which are not local, but universal, and through which the principles of all lovers of mankind are affected, and in the event of which their affections are interested. The late war a country desolate with fire and sword, declaring

COMMON SENSE.

Of the origin and design of government in general. With concise remarks on the English constitution.

SOME writers have so confounded society with government, as to leave little or no distinction between them; whereas they are not only different, but have different origins. Society is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness *positively* by uniting our affections, the latter *negatively* by restraining our vices. The one encourages intercourse, the other creates distinctions. The first is a patron, the last a punisher.

Society in every state is a blessing, but government even in its best state is but a necessary evil; in its worst state an intolerable one; for when we suffer, or are exposed to the same miseries *by a government*, which we might expect in a country *without government*, our calamity is heightened by reflecting that we furnish the means by which we suffer. Government, like dress, is the badge of lost innocence; the palaces of kings are built on the ruins of the bowers of paradise. For were the impulses of conscience clear, uniform, and irresistibly obeyed, man would need no other lawgiver; but that not being the case, he finds it necessary to surrender up a part of his property to furnish means for the protection of the rest; and this he is induced to do by the same prudence which in every other case, advises him out of two evils to chuse the least. *Wherefore* security being the true design and end of government, it unanswerably follows, that whatever *form* thereof appears most likely to insure it to us, with the least expence and greatest benefit, is preferable to all others.

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In order to gain a clear and just idea of the design and end of government, let us suppose a small number of persons settled in some sequestered part of the earth, unconnected with the rest: they will then represent the first peopling of any country, or of the world. In this state of natural liberty, society will be their first thought. A thousand motives will excite them thereto, the strength of one man is so unequal to his wants, and his mind so unfitted for perpetual solitude, that he is soon obliged to seek assistance and relief of another, who in his turn requires the same. Four or five united would be able to raise a tolerable dwelling in the midst of a wilderness; but *one* man might labour out the common period of life without accomplishing any thing; when he had felled his timber he could not remove it, nor erect it after it was removed; hunger in the mean time would urge him from his work, and every different want call him a different way. Disease, nay even misfortune would be death: for tho' neither might be mortal, yet either would disable him from living, and reduce him to a state in which he might rather be said to perish than to die.

Thus necessity, like a gravitating power, would soon form our newly-arrived emigrants into society, the reciprocal blessings of which, would supersede, and render the obligations of law and government unnecessary while they remained perfectly just to each other. But, as nothing but heaven is impregnable to vice, it will unavoidably happen, that in proportion as they surmount the first difficulties of emigration, which bound them together in a common cause, they will begin to relax in their duty and attachment to each other; and this remissness will point out the necessity of establishing some form of government to supply the defect of moral virtue.

Some convenient tree will afford them a State-House, under the branches of which, the whole colony may assemble to deliberate on public matters. It is more than probable that their first laws will have the title only of REGULATIONS, and be enforced by no other penalty than public disesteem. In this first parliament every man, by natural right, will have a seat.

But as the colony increases, the public concerns will increase likewise, and the distance at which the members may be separated, will render it too inconvenient for all of them

to meet on every occasion as at first, when their number was small, their habitations near, and the public concerns few and trifling. This will point out the convenience of their consenting to leave the legislative part to be managed by a select number chosen from the whole body, who are supposed to have the same concerns at stake which those have who appointed them, and who will act in the same manner as the whole body would act, were they present. If the colony continue increasing, it will become necessary to augment the number of the representatives, and that the interest of every part of the colony may be attended to, it will be found best to divide the whole into convenient parts, each part sending its proper number; and that the *elected* might never form to themselves an interest separate from the *electors*, prudence will point out the necessity of having elections often; because as the *elected* might by that means return and mix again with the general body of the *electors* in a few months, their fidelity to the public will be secured by the prudent reflection of not making a rod for themselves. And as this frequent interchange will establish a common interest with every part of the community, they will mutually and naturally support each other, and on this (not on the unmeaning name of king) depends the *strength of government and the happiness of the governed*.

Here then is the origin and rise of government; namely, a mode rendered necessary by the inability of moral virtue to govern the world; here too is the design and end of government, viz. freedom and security. And however our eyes may be dazzled with show, or our ears deceived by sound; however prejudice may warp our wills, or interest darken our understanding; the simple voice of nature and of reason will say, it is right.

I draw my idea of the form of government from a principle in nature, which no art can overturn, viz. that the more simple any thing is, the less liable it is to be disordered, and the easier repaired when disordered; and with this maxim in view, I offer a few remarks on the so much boasted constitution of England. That it was noble for the dark and slavish times in which it was erected, is granted. When the world was over-run with tyranny, the least remove therefrom was a glorious rescue. But that it is imperfect, subject to convulsions,

sions, and incapable of producing what it seems to promise, is easily demonstrated.

Absolute governments, (tho' the disgrace of human nature) have this advantage with them, that they are simple; if the people suffer, they know the head from which their suffering springs, know likewise the remedy, and are not bewildered by a variety of causes and cures. But the constitution of England is so exceedingly complex, that the nation may suffer for years together without being able to discover in which part the fault lies; some will say in one and some in another, and every political physician will advise a different medicine.

I know it is difficult to get over local or long standing prejudices, yet if we will suffer ourselves to examine the component parts of the English constitution, we shall find them to be the base remains of two ancient tyrannies, compounded with some new republican materials.

First.—The remains of monarchical tyranny in the person of the king.

Secondly.—The remains of aristocratical tyranny in the persons of the peers.

Thirdly.—The new republican materials in the persons of the commons, on whose virtue depends the freedom of England.

The two first, by being hereditary, are independent of the people; wherefore in a *constitutional sense* they contribute nothing towards the freedom of the state.

To say that the constitution of England is a *union* of three powers reciprocally *checking* each other, is farcical, either the words have no meaning, or they are flat contradictions.

To say that the commons are a check upon the king, presupposes two things:

First.—That the king is not to be trusted without being looked after, or in other words, that a thirst for absolute power is the natural disease of monarchy.

Secondly.—That the commons, by being appointed for that purpose, are either wiser or more worthy of confidence than the crown.

But as the same constitution which gives the commons a power to check the king by withholding the supplies, gives afterwards the king a power to check the commons by empowering

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powering him to reject their other bills; it again supposes that the king is wiser than those whom it has already supposed to be wiser than him. A mere absurdity!

There is something exceedingly ridiculous in the composition of monarchy; it first excludes a man from the means of information, yet empowers him to act in cases where the highest judgment is required. The state of a king shuts him from the world, yet the business of a king requires him to know it thoroughly; wherefore the different parts, by unnaturally opposing and destroying each other, prove the whole character to be absurd and useless.

Some writers have explained the English constitution thus: The king, say they, is one, the people another; the peers are an house in behalf of the king, the commons in behalf of the people. But this hath all the distinctions of an house divided against itself; and though the expressions be pleasantly arranged, yet when examined, they appear idle and ambiguous; and it will always happen, that the nicest construction that words are capable of when applied to the description of something which either cannot exist, or is too incomprehensible to be within the compass of description, will be words of sound only, and tho' they may amuse the ear, they cannot inform the mind, for this explanation includes a previous question, viz, *How came the king by a power which the people are afraid to trust, and always obliged to check?* Such a power could not be the gift of a wise people, neither can any power, *which needs checking*, be from God; yet the provision, which the constitution makes, supposes such a power to exist.

But the provision is unequal to the task; the means either cannot or will not accomplish the end, and the whole affair is a *felo de se*; for as the greater weight will always carry up the less, and as all the wheels of a machine are put in motion by one, it only remains to know which power in the constitution has the most weight, for that will govern; and tho' the others, or a part of them, may clog, or, as the phrase is, check the rapidity of its motion, yet so long as they cannot stop it, their endeavours will be ineffectual; the first moving power will at last have its way, and what it wants in speed, is supplied by time.

That the crown is this overbearing part in the English constitution, needs not be mentioned, and that it derives its whole

whole consequence merely from being the giver of places and pensions, is self-evident; wherefore, though we have been wise enough to shut and lock a door against absolute monarchy, we at the same time have been foolish enough to put the crown in possession of the key.

The prejudice of Englishmen in favour of their own government by kings, lords and commons, arises as much or more from national pride than reason. Individuals are undoubtedly safer in England than in some other countries, but the *will* of the king is as much the *law* of the land in Britain as in France, with this difference, that instead of proceeding directly from his mouth, it is handed to the people under the more formidable shape of an act of parliament. For the fate of Charles the First hath only made kings more subtle—not more just.

Wherefore, laying aside all national pride and prejudice in favour of modes and forms, the plain truth is, that *it is wholly owing to the constitution of the people, and not to the constitution of the government*, that the crown is not as oppressive in England as in Turkey.

An inquiry into the *constitutional errors* in the English form of government is at this time highly necessary; for as we are never in a proper condition of doing justice to others, while we continue under the influence of some leading partiality, so neither are we capable of doing it to ourselves while we remain fettered by any obstinate prejudice. And as a man, who is attached to a prostitute, is unfitted to choose or judge of a wife, so any prepossession in favour of a rotten constitution of government will disable us from discerning a good one.

Of monarchy and hereditary succession.

MANKIND being originally equals in the order of creation, the equality could only be destroyed by some subsequent circumstances; the distinction of rich and poor may in a great measure be accounted for, and that without having recourse to the harsh, ill-sounding names of oppression and avarice. Oppression is often the *consequence*, but seldom or never the *means* of riches; and though avarice will preserve

preserve a man from being necessitously poor, it generally makes him too timorous to become wealthy.

But there is another and greater distinction, for which no truly natural or religious reason can be assigned, and that is, the distinction of men into **KINGS** and **SUBJECTS**. Male and female are the distinctions of nature, good and bad the distinction of heaven; but how a race of men came into the world so exalted above the rest, and distinguished like some new species, is worth enquiring into, and whether they are the means of happiness or of misery to mankind.

In the early ages of the world, according to the scripture chronology, there were no kings; the consequence of which was, there were no wars; it is the pride of kings which throws mankind into confusion. Holland without a king hath enjoyed more peace for this last century than any of the monarchical governments in Europe. Antiquity favours the same remark; for the quiet and rural lives of the first patriarchs hath a happy something in them, which vanishes away when we come to the history of Jewish royalty.

Government by kings was first introduced into the world by the Heathens, from whom the children of Israel copied the custom. It was the most prosperous invention the Devil ever set on foot for the promotion of idolatry. The Heathens paid divine honours to their deceased kings, and the Christian world hath improved on the plan, by doing the same to their living ones. How impious is the title of "sacred majesty" applied to a worm, who in the midst of his splendour is crumbling into dust.

As the exalting one man so greatly above the rest cannot be justified on the equal rights of nature, so neither can it be defended on the authority of scripture; for the will of the Almighty, as declared by Gideon and the prophet Samuel, expressly disapproves of government by kings. All anti-monarchical parts of scripture have been very smoothly glossed over in monarchical governments, but they undoubtedly merit the attention of countries which have their governments yet to form. "*Render unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's*" is the scripture doctrine of courts, yet it is no support of monarchical government, for the Jews at that time were without a king, and in a state of vassalage to the Romans.

Near three thousand years passed away from the Mosaic account of the creation, before the Jews, under a national delusion requested

requested a king. Till then their form of government (except in extraordinary cases, where the Almighty interposed) was a kind of republic administered by a judge and the elders of the tribes. Kings they had none, and it was held sinful to acknowledge any being under that title but the Lord of Hosts. And when a man seriously reflects on the idolatrous homage which is paid to the persons of kings, he need not wonder that the Almighty, (ever jealous of his honour) should disapprove of a form of government which so impiously invades the prerogative of heaven.

Monarchy is ranked in scripture as one of the sins of the Jews, for which a curse in reserve is denounced against them. The history of that transaction is worth attending to.

The children of Israel being oppressed by the Midianites, Gideon marched against them with a small army and victory, thro' the divine interposition, decided in his favour. The Jews, elated with success, and attributing it to the generalship of Gideon, proposed making him a king, saying *Rule thou over us, thou and thy son and thy son's son.* Here was temptation in its fullest extent; not a kingdom only, but an hereditary one. But Gideon in the piety of his soul replied, *I will not rule over you, neither shall my son rule over you, THE LORD SHALL RULE OVER YOU.* Words need not be more explicit; Gideon doth not decline the honour, but denieth their right to give it; neither doth he compliment them with invented declarations of his thanks, but in the positive stile of a prophet charges them with disaffection to their proper Sovereign, the King of Heaven.

About one hundred and thirty years after this, they fell again into the same error. The hankering which the Jews had for the idolatrous customs of the Heathens, is something exceedingly unaccountable; but so it was, that laying hold of the misconduct of Samuel's two sons, who were entrusted with some secular concerns, they came in an abrupt and clamorous manner to Samuel, saying, *Behold thou art old, and thy sons walk not in thy ways: now make us a king to judge us, like all the other nations.* And here we cannot but observe that their motives were bad, viz that they might be like unto other nations, i. e. the Heathens, whereas their true glory laid in being as much unlike them as possible. But the thing displeased Samuel when they said, *Give us a king to judge us; and Samuel prayed unto the Lord, and the Lord said unto Samuel,*

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Hearken unto the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee, for they have not rejected thee, but they have rejected me, THAT I SHOULD NOT REIGN OVER THEM. According to all the works which they have done since the day that I brought them up out of Egypt, even unto this day; wherewith they have forsaken me and served other Gods; so do they also unto thee. Now therefore hearken unto their voice, howbeit, protest solemnly unto them, and shew them the manner of the king that shall reign over them, i. e. not of any particular king, but the general manner of the kings of the earth, whom Israel was so eagerly copying after. And notwithstanding the great distance of time and difference of manners, the character is still in fashion. And Samuel told all the words of the Lord unto the people, that asked of him a king. And he said, This shall be the manner of the king that shall reign over you; he will take your sons and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots, (this description agrees with the present mode of impressing men) and he will appoint him captain over thousands and captains over fifties, and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest, and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots; and he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers, (this describes the expence and luxury as well as the oppression of kings) and he will take your fields and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants and he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give them to his officers and to his servants, (by which we see that bribery, corruption, and favouritism are the standing vices of kings) and he will take the tenth of your men servants, and your maid servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses, and put them to his work; and he will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants, and ye shall cry out in that day because of your king which ye shall have chosen, AND THE LORD WILL NOT HEAR YOU IN THAT DAY." This accounts for the continuation of monarchy; neither do the characters of the few good kings which have lived since, either sanctify the title, or blot out the sinfulness of the origin; the high encomium given of David takes no notice of him officially as a king, but only as a man after God's own heart. Nevertheless the people refused to obey the voice of Samuel, and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us, that we may

be like all the nations, and that our king may judge us, and go out before us, and fight our battles. Samuel continued to reason with them, but to no purpose; he set before them their ingratitude, but all would not avail; and seeing them fully bent on their folly, he cried out, *I will call unto the Lord, and he shall send thunder and rain,* (which then was a punishment, being in the time of wheat harvest) *that ye may perceive and see that your wickedness is great which ye have done in the sight of the Lord,* IN ASKING YOU A KING. So Samuel called unto the Lord, and the Lord sent thunder and rain that day, and all the people greatly feared the Lord and Samuel. And all the people said unto Samuel, *pray for thy servants unto the Lord thy God that we die not, for we have added unto our sins this evil, to ask a king.* These portions of scripture are direct and positive. They admit of no equivocal construction. That the Almighty hath here entered his protest against monarchical government, is true, or the scripture is false. And a man hath good reason to believe that there is as much of king-craft as priest-craft, in withholding the scripture from the public in Popish countries. For monarchy in every instance is the Popery of government.

To the evil of monarchy we have added that of hereditary succession; and as the first is a degradation and lessening of ourselves, so the second, claimed as a matter of right, is an insult and an imposition on posterity. For all men being originally equals, no one by birth could have a right to set up his own family in perpetual preference to all others for ever, and though himself might deserve some decent degree of honours of his cotemporaries, yet his descendants might be far too unworthy to inherit them. One of the strongest natural proofs of the folly of hereditary right in kings, is, that nature disapproves it, otherwise she would not so frequently turn it into ridicule by giving mankind an *Ass* for a *Lion*.

Secondly, as no man at first could possess any other publick honours than were bestowed upon him, so the givers of those honours could have no right to give away the right of posterity. And though they might say, "We choose you for our head," they could not, without manifest injustice to their children, say, "that your children, and your children's children shall reign over ours for ever. Because such an un-
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wise, unjust, unnatural compact might (perhaps) in the next succession put them under the government of a rogue or a fool. Most wise men, in their private sentiments, have ever treated hereditary right with contempt; yet it is one of those evils which, when once established, is not easily removed; many submit from fear, others from superstition, and the more powerful part shares with the king the plunder of the rest.

This is supposing the present race of kings in the world to have had an honourable origin; whereas it is more than probable, that could we take off the dark covering of antiquity, and trace them to their first rise, we should find the first of them nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang, whose savage manners, or pre-eminence in subtlety obtained him the title of chief among plunderers; and who by increasing in power, and extending his depredations, over-awed the quiet and defenceless to purchase their safety by frequent contributions. Yet his electors could have no idea of giving hereditary right to his descendants, because such a perpetual exclusion of themselves was incompatible with the free and unrestrained principles they professed to live by. Wherefore hereditary-succession in the early ages of monarchy could not take place as a matter of claim, but as something casual or complimentary; but as few or no records were extant in those days, and tradition and history are stuffed with fables, it was very easy, after the lapse of a few generations, to trump up some superstitious tale, conveniently timed, Mahomet like, to cram hereditary right down the throats of the vulgar. Perhaps the disorders which threatened, or seemed to threaten, on the decease of a leader, and the choice of a new one, (for elections among ruffians could not be very orderly) induced many at first to favour hereditary pretensions; by which means it happened, as it hath happened since, that what at first was submitted to as a convenience, was afterwards claimed as a right.

England, since the conquest, hath known some few good monarchs, but groaned beneath a much larger number of bad ones; yet no man in his senses can say that their claim under William the Conqueror is a very honourable one. A French bastard landing with an armed banditti, and establishing himself king of England against the consent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry rascally original. It certainly
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hath no divinity in it. However, it is needless to spend much time in exposing the folly of hereditary right; if there are any so weak as to believe it, let them promiscuously worship the ass and the lion, and welcome. I shall neither copy their humility, nor disturb their devotion.

Yet I should be glad to ask how they suppose kings came at first? The question admits but of three answers, viz. either by lot, by election, or by usurpation. If the first king was taken by lot, it establishes a precedent for the next, which excludes hereditary succession. Saul was by lot, yet the succession was not hereditary, neither does it appear from that transaction there was any intention it ever should. If the first king of any country was by election, that likewise establishes a precedent for the next; for to say that the *right* of all future generations is taken away, by the act of the first electors, in their choice not only of a king, but of a family of kings for ever, hath no parallel in or out of Scripture but the doctrine of original sin, which supposes the free will of all men lost in Adam; and from such comparison, (and it will admit of no other) hereditary succession can derive no glory. For as in Adam all sinned, and as in the first electors all men obeyed; as in the one all mankind were subjected to Satan, and in the other to sovereignty; as our innocence was lost in the first, and our authority in the last; and as both disable us from re-assuming some former state and privilege, it unanswerably follows, that original sin and hereditary succession are parallels. Dishonourable rank! Inglorious connexion! Yet the most subtle sophist cannot produce a juster simile.

As to usurpation, no man will be so hardy as to defend it; and that William the conqueror was an usurper, is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of English monarchy will not bear looking into.

But it is not so much the absurdity as the evil of hereditary succession which concerns mankind. Did it ensure a race of good and wise men, it would have the seal of divine authority, but as it opens a door to the *foolish*, the *wicked*, and the *improper*, it hath in it the nature of oppression. Men who look upon themselves born to reign, and others to obey, soon grow insolent; selected from the rest of mankind their minds are early poisoned by importance; and the world they
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act in differs so materially from the world at large, that they have but little opportunity of knowing its true interests, and when they succeed to the government, are frequently the most ignorant and unfit of any throughout the dominions.

Another evil which attends hereditary succession is, that the throne is subject to be possessed by a minor at any age; all which time the regency, acting under the cover of a king, have every opportunity and inducement to betray their trust. The same national misfortune happens, when a king, worn out with age and infirmity, enters the last stage of human weakness. In both these cases, the publick becomes a prey to every miscreant, who can tamper successfully with the follies either of age or infancy.

The most plausible plea which hath ever been offered in favour of hereditary succession, is, that it preserves a nation from civil wars; and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas, it is the most barefaced falsity ever imposed upon mankind. The whole history of England disowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that distracted kingdom since the conquest, in which time there have been (including the revolution) no less than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions. Wherefore instead of making for peace, it makes against it, and destroys the very foundation it seems to stand on.

The contest for monarchy and succession, between the houses of York and Lancaster, laid England in a scene of blood for many years. Twelve pitched battles, besides skirmishes and sieges were fought between Henry and Edward. Twice was Henry prisoner to Edward, who in his turn was prisoner to Henry. And so uncertain is the fate of war, and the temper of a nation, when nothing but personal matters are the ground of a quarrel, that Henry was taken in triumph from a prison to a palace, and Edward obliged to fly from a palace to a foreign land; yet, as sudden transitions of temper are seldom lasting, Henry in his turn was driven from the throne, and Edward recalled to succeed him. The parliament always following the strongest side.

This contest began in the reign of Henry the Sixth, and was not entirely extinguished 'till Henry the Seventh, in whom the families were united. Including a period of 67 years, viz. from 1422 to 1489.

Thoughts on the present state of American affairs.

IN the following pages I offer nothing more than simple facts, plain arguments, and common sense; and have no other preliminaries to settle with the reader, than that he will divest himself of prejudice and prepossession, and suffer his reason and his feelings to determine for themselves; that he will put *on*, or rather that he will not put *off* the true character of a man, and generously enlarge his views beyond the present day.

Volumes have been written on the subject of the struggle between England and America. Men of all ranks have embarked in the controversy, from different motives, and with various designs: but all have been ineffectual, and the period of debate is closed. Arms, as the last resource, are to decide the contest; the appeal was the choice of the king, and the continent hath accepted the challenge.

It hath been reported of the late Mr. Pelham (who tho' an able minister was not without his faults) that on his being attacked in the house of commons, on the score, that his measures were only of a temporary kind, replied "*they will last my time.*" Should a thought so fatal and unmanly possess the colonies in the present contest, the name of ancestors will be remembered by future generations with detestation.

The sun never shone on a cause of greater worth. 'Tis not the affair of a city, a county, a province, or a kingdom, but of a continent—of at least one eighth part of the habitable globe. 'Tis not the concern of a day, a year, or an age; posterity are virtually involved in the contest, and will be more or less affected, even to the end of time, by the proceedings now. Now is the seed-time of continental union, faith and honor. The least fracture now will be like a name engraved with the point of a pin on the tender rind of a young oak; the wound will enlarge with the tree, and posterity read it in full grown characters.

By referring the matter from argument to arms, a new æra for politicks is struck; a new method of thinking hath arisen. All plans, proposals, &c. prior to the nineteenth of April, *i. e.* to the commencement of hostilities, are like the almanacks of the last year; which though proper then are super-

superfeded and useless now. Whatever was advanced by the advocates on either side of the question then, terminated in one and the same point, viz. a union with Great-Britain; the only difference between the parties was the method of effecting it; the one proposing force, the other friendship; but it hath so far happened that the first hath failed, and the second hath withdrawn her influence.

As much hath been said of the advantages of reconciliation, which, like an agreeable dream, hath passed away and left us as we were, it is but right, that we should examine the contrary side of the argument, and enquire into some of the many material injuries which these colonies sustain, and always will sustain, by being connected with, and dependant on Great Britain. To examine that connection and dependance, on the principles of nature and common sense, to see what we have to trust to, if separated, and what we are to expect, if dependant,

I have heard it asserted by some, that as America hath flourished under her former connection with Great-Britain, that the same connection is necessary towards her future happiness, and will always have the same effect. Nothing can be more fallacious than this kind of argument. We may as well assert that because a child has thriven upon milk, that it is never to have meat, or that the first twenty years of our lives is to become a precedent for the next twenty. But even this is admitting more than is true, for I answer roundly, that America would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power had any thing to do with her. The commerce by which she hath enriched herself, are the necessities of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe.

But she has protected us, say some. That she has engrossed us is true, and defended the continent at our expence as well as her own, is admitted. And she would have defended Turkey from the same motive, viz. the sake of trade and dominion.

Alas, we have been long led away by ancient prejudices, and made large sacrifices to superstition. We have boasted the protection of Great Britain, without considering that her motive was *interest* not *attachment*; that she did not protect us from *our enemies* on *our account*, but from *her enemies* on *her own account*, from those who had no quarrel with us on any

any other account, and who will always be our enemies on the same account. Let Britain wave her pretensions to the continent, or the continent throw off the dependance, and we should be at peace with France and Spain were they at war with Britain. The miseries of Hanover last war ought to warn us against connexions.

It has lately been asserted in parliament, that the colonies have no relation to each other but through the parent country, i. e. that Pennsylvania and the Jerseys, and so on for the rest, are sister colonies by the way of England; this is certainly a very round-about way of proving relationship, but it is the nearest and only true way of proving enmity if I may so call it. France and Spain never were, nor perhaps ever will be our enemies as *Americans*, but as our being the *subjects of Great Britain*.

But Britain is the parent country, say some. Then the more shame upon her conduct. Even brutes do not devour their young, nor savages make war upon their families; wherefore the assertion, if true, turns to her reproach; but it happens not to be true, or only partly so, and the phrase *parent* or *mother country* hath been jesuitically adopted by the and his parasites, with a low papistical design of gaining an unfair bias on the credulous weakness of our minds. Europe, and not England, is the parent country of America. This new world hath been the asylum for the persecuted lovers of civil and religious liberty from *every part* of Europe. Hither have they fled, not from the tender embraces of the mother, but from the cruelty of the monster; and it is so far true of England, that the same tyranny which drove the first emigrants from home, pursues their descendants still.

In this extensive quarter of the globe, we forget the narrow limits of three hundred and sixty miles (the extent of England) and carry our friendship on a larger scale; we claim brotherhood with every European Christian, and triumph in the generosity of the sentiment.

It is pleasant to observe by what regular gradations we surmount the force of local prejudice, as we enlarge our acquaintance with the world. A man born in any town in England divided into parishes, will naturally associate most with his fellow-parishioners (because their interests in many cases will be common) and distinguish him by the name of *neighbour*; if he meet him but a few miles from home, he drops the narrow idea of a street, and salutes him by the

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name of *townsman* ; if he travel out of the county, and meet him in any other, he forgets the minor divisions of street and town, and calls him *countryman*, i. e. *countymen* ; but if in their foreign excursions they should associate in France, or any other part of *Europe*, their local remembrance would be enlarged into that of *Englishmen*. And by a just parity of reasoning, all Europeans meeting in America, or any other quarter of the globe, are *countrymen* ; for England, Holland, Germany, or Sweden, when compared with the whole, stand in the same places on the larger scale, which the divisions of street, town, and county do on the smaller ones ; distinctions too limited for continental minds. Not one-third of the inhabitants, even of this province, are of English descent. Wherefore I reprobate the phrase of parent or mother country applied to England only, as being false, selfish, narrow, and ungenerous.

But admitting, that we were all of English descent, what does it amount to ? Nothing. Britain, being now an open enemy, extinguishes every other name and title : And to say that reconciliation is our duty, is truly farcical. The first king of England, of the present line (William the Conqueror) was a Frenchman, and half the Peers of England are descendants from the same country ; wherefore, by the same method of reasoning, England ought to be governed by France.

Much hath been said of the united strength of Britain and the colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world. But this is mere presumption ; the fate of war is uncertain, neither do the expressions mean any thing ; for this continent would never suffer itself to be drained of inhabitants, to support the British arms in either Asia, Africa, or Europe.

Besides what have we to do with setting the world at defiance ? Our plan is commerce, and that, well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe ; because, it is the interest of all Europe to have America a *free port*. Her trade will always be a protection, and her barrenness of gold and silver secure her from invaders.

I challenge the warmest advocate for reconciliation, to shew, a single advantage that this continent can reap, by being connected with Great-Britain. I repeat the challenge,

challenge, not a single advantage is derived. Our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe, and our imported goods must be paid for buy them where we will.

But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection, are without number; and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance: Because, any submission to, or dependance on Great-Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels; and set us at variance with nations, who would otherwise seek our friendship, and against whom we have neither anger nor complaint. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no partial connection with any part of it. It is the true interest of America to steer clear of European contentions, which she never can do, while by her dependance on Britain, she is made the make-weight in the scale of British politics.

Europe is too thickly planted with kingdoms to be long at peace, and when ever a war breaks out between England and any foreignpower, the trade of America goes to ruin, *because of her connection with Britain.* The next war may not turn out like the last, and should it not, the advocates for reconciliation now, will be wishing for separation then, because, neutrality in that case, would be a safer convoy than a man of war. Every thing that is right or natural pleads for separation. The blood of the slain, the weeping voice of nature cries, 'TIS TIME TO PART. Even the distance at which the Almighty hath placed England and America, is a strong and natural proof, that the authority of the one, over the other, was never the design of Heaven. The time likewise at which the continent was discovered, adds weight to the argument, and the manner in which it was peopled encreases the force of it. The reformation was preceded by the discovery of America, as if the Almighty graciously meant to open a sanctuary to the persecuted in future years, when home should afford neither friendship nor safety.

The authority of Great-Britain over this continent, is a form of government; which sooner or later must have an end: and a serious mind can draw no true pleasure by looking forward, under the painful and positive conviction, that what is called "the present constitution" is merely temporary.

rary. As parents, we can have no joy, knowing that *this government* is not sufficiently lasting to ensure any thing which we may bequeath to posterity : And by a plain method of argument, as we are running the next generation into debt, we ought to do the work of it, otherwise we use them meanly and pitifully. In order to discover the line of our duty rightly, we should take our children in our hand, and fix our station a few years farther into life ; that eminence will present a prospect, which a few present fears and prejudices conceal from our sight.

Though I would carefully avoid giving unnecessary offence, yet I am inclined to believe, that all those who espouse the doctrine of reconciliation, may be included within the following descriptions. Interested men, who are not to be trusted ; weak men, who *cannot* see ; prejudiced men, who *will not* see ; and a certain set of moderate men, who think better of the European world than it deserves ; and this last class, by an ill-judged deliberation, will be the cause of more calamities to this continent, than all the other three.

It is the good fortune of many to live distant from the scene of sorrow ; the evil is not sufficiently brought to *their* doors to make *them* feel the precariousness with which all American property is possessed. But let our imaginations transport us for a few moments to Boston, that seat of wretchedness will teach us wisdom, and instruct us for ever to renounce a power in whom we can have no trust. The inhabitants of that unfortunate city, who but a few months ago were in ease and affluence, have now, no other alternative than to stay and starve, or turn out to beg. Endangered by the fire of their friends if they continue within the city, and plundered by the soldiery if they leave it. In their present condition they are prisoners without the hope of redemption, and in a general attack for their relief, they would be exposed to the fury of both armies.

Men of passive tempers look somewhat lightly over the offences of Britain, and still hoping for the best, are apt to call out, "*Come, come, we shall be friends again, for all this.*" But examine the passions and feelings of mankind, bring the doctrine of reconciliation to the touchstone of nature, and then tell me, whether you can hereafter love, honour, and faithfully
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serve the power that hath carried fire and sword into your hand? If you cannot do all these, then are you only deceiving yourselves, and by your delay bringing ruin upon posterity. Your future connexion with Britain, whom you can neither love nor honour, will be forced and unnatural, and being formed only on the plan of present convenience, will in a little time fall into a relapse more wretched than the first. But if you say, you can still pass the violations over, then I ask, Hath your house been burnt? Hath your property been destroyed before your face? Are your wife and children destitute of a bed to lie on, or bread to live on? Have you lost a parent or a child, by their hands, and yourself the ruined and wretched survivor? If you have not, then are you not a judge of those who have. But if you have, and still can shake hands with the murderers, then are you unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover, and whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward, and the spirit of a sycophant.

This is not inflaming or exaggerating matters, but trying them by those feelings and affections which nature justifies; and without which, we should be incapable of discharging the social duties of life, or enjoying the felicities of it. I mean not to exhibit horror for the purpose of provoking revenge, but to awaken us from fatal and unmanly slumbers, that we may pursue determinately some fixed object. It is not in the power of Britain or of Europe to conquer America, if she do not conquer herself by *delay* and *timidity*. The present winter is worth an age, if rightly employed, but if neglected, the whole continent will partake of the misfortune; and there is no punishment which that man will not deserve, be he who, or what, or where he will, that may be the means of sacrificing a season so precious and useful.

It is repugnant to reason, to the universal order of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose, that this continent can longer remain subject to any external power. The most sanguine in Britain does not think so. The utmost stretch of human wisdom cannot, at this time, compass a plan short of separation, which can promise the continent even a year's security. Reconciliation

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is *now* a fallacious dream. Nature hath deserted the connexion, and art cannot supply her place. For, as Milton wisely expresses, "Never can true reconciliation grow, where wounds of deadly hate have pierc'd so deep."

Every quiet method for peace hath been ineffectual. Our prayers have been rejected with disdain; and only tended to convince us, that nothing flatters vanity, or confirms obstinacy in Kings more than repeated petitioning—and nothing hath contributed more than that very measure to make the Kings of Europe absolute: Witness Denmark and Sweden. Wherefore, since nothing but blows will do, for God's sake, let us come to a final separation, and not leave the next generation to be cutting throats, under the violated unmeaning names of parent and child.

To say, they will never attempt it again is idle and visionary, we thought so at the repeal of the stamp-act, yet a year or two undeceived us; as well may we suppose that nations, which have been once defeated, will never renew the quarrel.

As to government matters, it is not in the power of Britain to do this continent justice: The business of it will soon be too weighty, and intricate, to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience, by a power so distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. To be always running three or four thousand miles with a tale or a petition, waiting four or five months for an answer, which when obtained requires five or six more to explain it in, will in a few years be looked upon as folly and childishness—There was a time when it was proper, and there is a proper time for it to cease.

Small islands, not capable of protecting themselves, are the proper objects for kingdoms to take under their care; but there is something very absurd in supposing a continent to be perpetually governed by an island. In no instance hath nature made the satellite larger than its primary planet, and as England and America, with respect to each other, reverses the common order of nature, it is evident they belong to different systems; England to Europe, America to itself.

I am

I am not induced by motives of pride, party, or resentment to espouse the doctrine of separation and independance; I am clearly, positively, and conscientiously persuaded, that it is the true interest of this continent to be so; that every thing short of *that* is mere patchwork, that it can afford no lasting felicity,----that it is leaving the sword to our children, and shrinking back at a time, when, a little more, a little farther, would have rendered this continent the glory of the earth.

As Britain hath not manifested the least inclination towards a compromise, we may be assured that no terms can be obtained worthy the acceptance of the continent, or any ways equal to the expence of blood and treasure we have been already put to.

The object contended for, ought always to bear some just proportion to the expence. The removal of North, or the whole detestable junto, is a matter unworthy the millions we have expended. A temporary stoppage of trade, was an inconvenience, which would have sufficiently ballanced the repeal of all the acts complained of, had such repeals been obtained; but if the whole continent must take up arms, if every man must be a soldier, it is scarcely worth our while to fight against a contemptible ministry only. Dearly, dearly, do we pay for the repeal of the acts, if that is all we fight for; for in a just estimation, it is as great a folly to pay a Bunker-hill price for law as for land. As I have always considered the independency of this continent as an event which sooner or later must arrive, so from the late rapid progress of the continent to maturity, the event could not be far off. Wherefore, on the breaking out of hostilities, it was not worth while to have disputed a matter which time would have finally redressed, unless we meant to be in earnest; otherwise it is like wasting an estate on a suit at law, to regulate the trespasses of a tenant, whose lease is just expiring. No man was a warmer wisher for reconciliation than myself before the fatal nineteenth* of April, 1775, but the moment the event of that day was made known,

*Vid. The original edition
p. 38. for what is here
inserted.*

Lexington

But

But admitting that matters were now made up what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the continent.--- And that for several reasons.

First, The powers of governing still remaining in the hands of the king, he will have a negative over the whole legislation of this continent. And *vid first Edition* 188

is he, or is he not, a proper man to say to these colonies, "*You shall make no laws but what I please?*" And is there any inhabitant in America so ignorant, as not to know, that according to what is called the *present constitution*, that this continent can make no laws but what the king gives leave to? and is there any man so unwise as not to see, that (considering what has happened) he will suffer no law to be made here, but such as suits *his* purpose? We may be as effectually enslaved by the want of laws in America, as by submitting to laws made for us in England. After matters are made up (as it is called) can there be any doubt, but the whole power of the crown will be exerted to keep this continent as low and as humble as possible? Instead of going forward, we shall go backward, or be perpetually quarrelling or ridiculously petitioning.—

vid first edition p. 39 To bring the matter to one point. Is the power who is jealous of our prosperity, a proper power to govern us? Whoever says *No* to this question, is an *independant*; for independency means no more, than whether we shall make our own laws, or

But the king, you will say, has a negative in England; the people there can make no laws without his consent. In point of right and good order, there is something very ridiculous, that a youth of twenty-one (which hath often happened) shall say to several millions of people, older and wiser than himself, I forbid this or that act of yours to be law. But in this place I decline this sort of reply, though I will never cease to expose the absurdity of it, and only answer,

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swer, that England, being the king's residence, and America not so, makes quite another case. The king's negative *here* is ten times more dangerous and fatal than it can be in England: for *there* he will scarcely refuse his consent to a bill for putting England into as strong a state of defence as possible; and in America he would never suffer such a bill to be passed.

America is only a secondary object in the system of British politics: England consults the good of this country, no farther than it answers her own purpose. Wherefore her own interest leads her to suppress the growth of *ours* in every case which doth not promote her advantage, or which in the least interferes with it. A pretty state we should soon be in under such a second-hand government; considering what has happened! Men do not change from enemies to friends by the alteration of a name: and in order to shew that reconciliation *now* is a dangerous doctrine, I affirm, *that it would be policy at this time to repeal the acts for the sake of re-instating the government of the provinces; in order,*

Secondly, That as even the best terms which we can expect to obtain, can amount to no more than a temporary expedient, or a kind of government by guardianship, which can last no longer than till the colonies come of age, so the general face and state of things in the interim, will be unsettled and unpromising. Emigrants of property will not choose to come to a country whose form of government hangs but by a thread, and which is every day tottering on the brink of commotion and disturbance; and numbers of the present inhabitants would lay hold of the interval, to dispose of their effects, and quit the continent.

But the most powerful of all arguments, is, that nothing but independance, i. e. a continental form of government, can keep the peace of the continent and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation with Britain now, as it is more than probable, that it will be followed by a revolt somewhere or other, the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain.

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Thousands are already ruined by British barbarity; (thousands more will probably suffer the same fate). Those men have other feelings than we who have nothing suffered. All they *now* possess is liberty, what they before enjoyed is sacrificed to its service, and having nothing more to lose, they disdain submission. Besides, the general temper of the colonies, towards a British government, will be like that of a youth who is nearly out of his time; they will care very little about her. And a government which cannot preserve the peace, is no government at all, and in that case we pay our money for nothing. And, pray, what is it that Britain can do, whose power will be wholly on paper, should a civil tumult break out the very day after reconciliation? I have heard some men say, (many of whom I believe spoke without thinking,) that they dreaded an independance, fearing it would produce civil wars. It is but seldom that our first thoughts are truly correct, and that is the case here; for there are ten times more evils to dread from a patched up connexion than from independance. I make the sufferers case my own, and I protest, that were I driven from house and home, my property destroyed, and my circumstances ruined, that as a man, sensible of injuries, I could never relish the doctrine of reconciliation, nor consider myself bound thereby.

The colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every reasonable person easy and happy on that head. No man can assign the least pretence for his fears, on any other grounds than such as are truly childish and ridiculous, viz. that one colony will be striving for superiority over another.

Where there are no distinctions, there can be no superiority; perfect equality affords no temptation. The republics of Europe are all (and we may say always) in peace. Holland and Swisserland are without wars, foreign or domestic: monarchical governments, it is true, are never long at rest; the crown itself is a temptation to enterprising *ruffians at home*; and that degree of pride and insolence ever attendant on regal authority, swells into a rupture with foreign powers, in instances where a republican government, by being formed on more natural principles, would negotiate the mistake.

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If there is any true cause of fear respecting independance, it is because no plan is yet laid down. Men do not see their way out—Wherefore, as an opening into that business, I offer the following hints; at the same time modestly affirming, that I have no other opinion of them myself, than that they may be the means of giving rise to something better.--- Could the straggling thoughts of individuals be collected, they would frequently form materials for wise and able men to improve into useful matter.

LET the assemblies be annual, with a President only.---- The representation more equal. Their business wholly domestic, and subject to the authority of a Continental Congress.

Let each colony be divided into six, eight, or ten convenient districts, each district to send a proper number of delegates to Congress, so that each colony send at least thirty. The whole number in congress will be at least 390. Each congress to sit _____ and to choose a president by the following method. When the delegates are met, let a colony be taken from the whole thirteen colonies by lot: after which, let the whole Congress choose (by ballot) a president from out of the delegates of *that* province. In the next congress, let a colony be taken by lot from twelve only, omitting that colony from which the president was taken in the former congress, and so proceeding on 'till the whole thirteen shall have had their proper rotation. And in order that nothing may pass into a law but what is satisfactorily just, not less than ~~three~~ ^{three} fifths of the congress to be called a majority.-----He that will promote discord under a government so equally formed as this, would have joined Lucifer in his revolt.

But as there is a peculiar delicacy, from whom, or in what manner this business must first arise, and as it seems most agreeable and consistent, that it should come from some intermediate body between the governed and the governors, that is, between the Congress and the people, let a CONTINENTAL CONFERENCE be held, in the following manner, and for the following purpose:

A committee of twenty-six members of Congress, viz. two for each colony. Two Members from each House of Assembly, or provincial Convention; and five representatives of the people at large, to be chosen in the capital city or town
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of each province, for and in behalf of the whole province, by as many qualified voters as shall think proper to attend from all parts of the province for that purpose ; or, if more convenient the representatives may be chosen in two or three of the most populous parts thereof. In this conference, thus assembled, will be united, the two grand principles of business, *knowledge* and *power*. The members of Congress, Assemblies, or Conventions, by having had experience in national concerns, will be able and useful counsellors, and the whole, being impowered by the people, will have a truly legal authority.

The conferring members being met, let their business be to frame a CONTINENTAL CHARTER, or Charter of the United Colonies ; (answering to what is called the Magna Charta of England) fixing the number and manner of choosing members of Congress, members of Assembly, with their date of sitting, and drawing the line of business and jurisdiction between them : (Always remembering, that our strength is continental, not provincial :) Securing freedom and property to all men, and above all things, the free exercise of religion, according to the dictates of conscience : with such other matter as is necessary for a charter to contain. Immediately after which, the said Conference to dissolve, and the bodies which shall be chosen conformable to the said charter, to be the legislators and governors of this continent for the time being: Whose peace and happiness may God preserve. Amen.

Should any body of men be hereafter delegated for this or some similar purpose, I offer them the following extracts from that wise observer on governments *Dragonetti*. "The science" says he "of the politician consists in fixing the true point of happiness and freedom. Those men would deserve the gratitude of ages, who should discover a mode of government that contained the greatest sum of individual happiness, with the least national expence.

Dragonetti on virtue and rewards."

But where, say some, is the King of America ? I'll tell you, Friend. He reigns above, and doth not make havoc of mankind

Yet that we may not appear to be defective even in earthly honours, let a day be solemnly set apart for proclaiming the charter ; let it be brought forth placed on the divine law, the word of God ; let a crown be placed thereon, by which the world may know that

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that so far we approve of monarchy, that in America **THE LAW IS KING**. For as in absolute governments the King is law, so in free countries the law *ought* to be King; and there ought to be no other. But lest any ill use should afterwards arise, let the crown, at the conclusion of the ceremony, be demolished, and scattered among the people whose right it is.

A government of our own is our natural right: And when a man seriously reflects on the precariousness of human affairs, he will become convinced, that it is infinitely wiser and safer, to form a constitution of our own in a cool deliberate manner, while we have it in our power, than to trust such an interesting event to time and chance. If we omit it now, some * Massanello may hereafter arise, who laying hold of popular disquietudes, may collect together the desperate and the discontented, and by assuming to themselves the powers of government, they may sweep away the liberties of the continent like a deluge. Should the government of America return again into the hands of Britain, the tottering situation of things will be a temptation for some desperate adventurer to try his fortune; and in such a case; what relief can Britain give? Ere she could hear the news, the fatal business might be done; and ourselves suffering like the wretched Britons under the oppression of the Conqueror. Ye that oppose independance now, ye know not what ye do; ye are opening a door to eternal tyranny,

There are thousands, and tens of thousands, who would think it glorious to expel from the continent that barbarous and hellish power, which hath stirred up the Indians and Negroes to destroy us; the cruelty hath a double guilt, it is dealing brutally by us, and treacherously by them.

To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections (wounded through a thousand pores,) instruct us to detest, is madness and folly. Every day wears out the little remains of kindred between us and them; and can there be any reason to hope, that, as the

* *Thomas Anello otherwise Massanello, a fisherman of Naples, who after spiriting up his countrymen in the public market-place, against the oppression of the Spaniards, to whom the place was then subject, prompted them to revolt, and in the space of a day became king.*

relationship

relationship expires, the affection will increase, or that we shall agree better, when we have ten times more and greater concerns to quarrel over than ever?

Ye that tell us of harmony and reconciliation, can ye restore to us the time that is past? Can ye give to prostitution its former innocence? Neither can ye reconcile Britain and America. The last cord now is broken; the people of England are presenting addresses against us. There are injuries which nature cannot forgive; she would cease to be nature if she did. As well can the lover forgive the ravisher of his mistress, as the continent forgive the murders of Britain. The Almighty hath implanted in us these unextinguishable feelings for good and wise purposes. They are the guardians of his image in our hearts. They distinguish us from the herd of common animals. The social compact would dissolve, and justice be extirpated the earth, or have only a casual existence, were we callous to the touches of affection. The robber and the murderer, would often escape unpunished, did not the injuries which our tempers sustain, provoke us into justice.

O ye that love mankind; Ye that dare oppose, not only the tyranny, stand forth; Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa, have long expelled her---Europe regards her like a stranger, and England hath given her warning to depart. O! receive the fugitive, and prepare in time an asylum for mankind.

Of the present ABILITY of AMERICA, with some miscellaneous REFLEXIONS,

I Have never met with a man, either in England or America, who hath not confessed his opinion, that a separation between the countries, would take place one time or other: And there is no instance, in which we have shewn less judgment, than in endeavouring to describe, what we call the ripeness or fitness of the Continent for independance.

As all men allow the measure, and vary only in their opinion of the time, let us, in order to remove mistakes, take a general survey of things, and endeavour, if possible, to find out the *very* time. But we need not go far; the inquiry

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ceases at once, for, the *time hath found us*. The general concurrence, the glorious union of all things prove the fact.

It is not in numbers, but in unity, that our great strength lies; yet our present numbers are sufficient to repel the force of all the world. The Continent hath, at this time, the largest body of armed and disciplined men of any power under Heaven; and is just arrived at that pitch of strength, in which no single colony is able to support itself, and the whole, when united, can accomplish the matter; and either more, or, less than this, might be fatal in its effects. Our land force is already sufficient; and as to naval affairs, we cannot be insensible, that Britain would never suffer an American man of war to be built, while the continent remained in her hands. Wherefore, we should be no forwarder an hundred years hence in that branch, than we are now; but the truth is, we should be less so, because the timber of the country is every day diminishing, and that, which will remain at last, will be far off and difficult to procure.

Were the Continent crowded with inhabitants, her sufferings under the present circumstances would be intolerable. The more seaport towns we had, the more should we have both to defend and to lose. Our present numbers are so happily proportioned to our wants, that no man need be idle. The diminution of trade affords an army; and the necessities of an army create a new trade.

Debts we have none; and whatever we may contract on this account will serve as a glorious memento of our virtue. Can we but leave posterity with a settled form of government, an independant constitution of its own, the purchase at any price will be cheap. But to expend millions for the sake of getting a few vile acts repealed, and routing the present ministry only, is unworthy the charge, and is using posterity with the utmost cruelty; because it is leaving them the great work to do, and a debt upon their backs, from which they derive no advantage. Such a thought is unworthy a man of honour, and is the true characteristic of a narrow heart, and a piddling politician.

The debt we may contract doth not deserve our regard, if the work be but accomplished. No nation ought to be without

out debt. A national debt is a national bond; and when it bears no interest, is in no case a grievance. Britain is oppressed with a debt of upwards of one hundred and fifty millions sterling, for which she pays upwards of four millions interest. As a compensation for her debt, she has a large navy. America is without a debt, and without a navy; yet for the twentieth part of the English national debt, could have a navy as large again. The navy of England is not worth, at this time, more than three millions and an half sterling.

The first and second editions of this pamphlet were published without the following calculations, which are now given as a proof that the above estimation of the navy is a just one. See *Entic's naval history*, intro. page 56.

The charge of building a ship of each rate, and furnishing her with masts, yards, sails, and rigging, together with a proportion of eight months boatswain's and carpenter's sea-stores, as calculated by Mr. Burchett, Secretary to the navy.

				£.
For a ship of 100 guns	-	-	-	35,553
90	-	-	-	29,886
80	-	-	-	23,638
70	-	-	-	17,785
60	-	-	-	14,197
50	-	-	-	10,606
40	-	-	-	7,558
30	-	-	-	5,846
20	-	-	-	3,710

And from hence it is easy to sum up the value, or cost rather, of the whole British navy, which in the year 1757, when it was at its greatest glory, consisted of the following ships and guns:

Ships.		Guns.		Cost of one.		Cost of all.
6	—	100	—	35,553 ^l .	—	213,318 ^l .
12	—	90	—	29,886	—	358,632
12	—	80	—	23,638	—	283,656
43	—	70	—	17,785	—	764,755
35	—	60	—	14,197	—	496,895
40	—	50	—	10,606	—	424,240
45	—	40	—	7,558	—	340,110
58	—	20	—	3,710	—	215,180
85	Sloops, bombs, and fireships, one with another,			} 2,000		170,000
						Cost
Remains for guns,				- - - -		233,214
						3,500,000

No country on the globe is so happily situated, or so internally capable of raising a fleet as America. Tar, timber, iron, and cordage, are her natural produce. We need go abroad for nothing. Whereas the Dutch, who make large profits by hiring out their ships of war to the Spaniards and Portuguese, are obliged to import most of the materials they use. We ought to view the building of a fleet as an article of commerce; it being the natural manufactory of this country; It is the best money we can lay out. A navy when finished is worth more than it cost. And is that nice point in national policy, in which commerce, and protection are united. Let us build; if we want them not, we can sell. and by that means replace our paper currency with ready gold, and silver.

In point of manning a fleet, people in general run into great errors; it is not necessary that one fourth part should be sailors. The Terrible privateer, Captain Death, stood the hottest engagement of any ship last war, yet had not twenty sailors on board, though her complement of men was upwards of two hundred. A few able and social sailors will soon instruct a sufficient number of active landmen in the common work of a ship. Wherefore, we never can be more capable to begin on maritime matters than now while our lumber is standing, our fisheries blocked up, and our sailors

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and shipwrights out of employ. Men of war of seventy and eighty guns were built forty years ago in New-England, And why not the same now? Ship-building is America's greatest pride, and in which she will in time excel the whole world. The great empires of the east are mostly inland, and consequently excluded from the possibility of rivalling her. Africa is in a state of barbarism; and no power in Europe hath either such an extent of coast, or such an internal supply of materials. Where nature hath given the one, she has withheld the other; to America only hath she been liberal of both. The vast empire of Russia is almost shut out from the sea: Wherefore, her boundless forests, her tar, iron, and cordage, are only articles of commerce.

In point of safety, ought we to be without a fleet? We are not the little people now, which we were sixty years ago, At that time we might have trusted our property in the streets, or fields rather; and slept securely without locks or bolts to our doors or windows. The case now is altered, and our methods of defence ought to improve with our increase of property. A common pirate, twelve months ago, might have come up the Delaware, and laid the city of Philadelphia under instant contribution, for what sum he pleased; and the same might have happened to other places. Nay, any daring fellow, in a brig of fourteen or sixteen guns, might have robbed the whole continent, and carried off half a million of money. These are circumstances which demand our attention, and point out the necessity of naval protection.

Some, perhaps, will say, that after we have made it up with Britain, she will protect us. Can we be so unwise as to mean that she shall keep a navy in our harbours for that purpose? Common sense will tell us, that the power which hath endeavoured to subdue us, is of all others the most improper to defend us. Conquest may be effected under the pretence of friendship; and ourselves, after a long and brave resistance, be at last cheated into slavery. And if her ships are not to be admitted into our harbours, I would ask, how is she to protect us? A navy three or four thousand miles off can be of little use; and on sudden emergencies, none at all. Wherefore, if we must hereafter pro-

test ourselves, why not do it for ourselves? Why do it for another?

The English list of ships of war is long and formidable. But not a tenth part of them are at any one time fit for service; numbers of them not in being. Yet their names are pompously continued in the list, if only a plank be left of the ship: And not a fifth part of such as are fit for service, can be spared on any one station at one time. The East, and West Indies, the Mediterranean, Africa, and other parts over which Britain extends her claim, make large demands upon her navy. From a mixture of prejudice and inattention, we have contracted a false notion respecting the navy of England, and have talked as if we should have the whole of it to encounter at once, and for that reason, supposed, that we must have one as large; which not being instantly practicable, has been made use of by a set of disguised Tories to discourage our beginning thereon. Nothing can be farther from truth than this; for if America had only a twentieth part of the naval force of Britain, she would be by far an overmatch for her; because, as we neither have, nor claim any foreign dominion, our whole force will be employed on our own coast, where we should, in the long run, have two to one the advantage of those who had three or four thousand miles to sail over, before they could attack us; and the same distance to return in order to refit and recruit. And although Britain, by her fleet, hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the West Indies, which, by lying in the neighbourhood of the continent, is entirely at its mercy.

Some method might be fallen on to keep up a naval force in time of peace, if we should not judge it necessary to support a constant navy. If premiums were to be given to merchants, to build and employ in their service, ships mounted with twenty, thirty, forty, or fifty guns (the premiums to be in proportion to the loss of bulk to the merchants) fifty, or sixty of those ships, with a few guardships on constant duty, would keep up a sufficient navy, and that without burdening ourselves with the evil so loudly complained of in England, of suffering their fleet, in time of peace to lie rotting in the docks. To unite the sinews of commerce and defence is sound policy; for when our strength and our riches

riches play into each other's hand, we need fear no external enemy.

In almost every article of defence we abound. Hemp flourishes even to rankness; so that we need not want cordage. Our iron is superiour to that of other countries. Our small arms equal to any in the world. Cannon we can cast at pleasure. Saltpetre and gunpowder we are every day producing. Our knowledge is hourly improving. Resolution is our inherent character, and courage hath never yet forsaken us. Wherefore, what is it that we want? Why is it that we hesitate? From Britain we expect nothing but ruin. If she is once admitted to the government of America again, this Continent will not be worth living in. Jealousies will be always arising; insurrections will be constantly happening; and who will go forth to quell them? Who will venture his life to reduce his own countrymen to a foreign obedience? The difference between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, respecting some unlocated lands, shews the insignificance of a British government; and fully proves, that nothing but Continental authority can regulate Continental matters.

Another reason why the present time is preferable to all others, is, that, the fewer our numbers are, the more land there is yet unoccupied, which (instead of being lavished by the king on his worthless dependants,) may be hereafter applied, not only to the discharge of the present debt, but to the constant support of government. No nation under heaven hath such an advantage as this.

The infant state of the Colonies, as it is called, so far from being against, is an argument in favour of independence. We are sufficiently numerous, and were we more so, we might be less united. It is a matter worthy of observation, that the more a country is peopled, the smaller their armies are. In military numbers, the ancients far exceeded the moderns; and the reason is evident, for trade being the consequence of population, men become too much absorbed thereby to attend to any thing else. Commerce diminishes the spirit both of patriotism and military defence. And history sufficiently informs us, that the bravest achievements were always accomplished in the non-age of a nation. With the increase of commerce, England hath lost its spirit. The city of London, notwithstanding its numbers, submits

to continued insults with the patience of a coward. The more men have to lose, the less willing are they to venture. The rich are in general slaves to fear, and submit to courtly power with the trembling duplicity of a spaniel.

Youth is the seed time of good habits, as well in nations as in individuals. It might be difficult, if not impossible, to form the continent into one government half a century hence. The vast variety of interests, occasioned by an increase of trade and population, would create confusion. Colony would be against colony. Each being able might scorn each other's assistance: and while the proud and foolish gloried in their little distinctions, the wise would lament, that the union had not been formed before. Wherefore, the *present time* is the *true time* for establishing it. The intimacy which is contracted in infancy, and the friendship which is formed in misfortune, are of all others the most lasting and unalterable. Our present union is marked with both these characters: we are young, and we have been distressed; but our concord hath withstood our troubles, and fixes a memorable æra for posterity to glory in.

The present time likewise is that peculiar time, which never happens to a nation but once, viz. the time of forming itself into a government. Most nations have let slip the opportunity, and by that means have been compelled to receive laws from their conquerors, instead of making laws for themselves. First, they had a king, and then a form of government; whereas, the articles, or charter of government, should be formed first, and men delegated to execute them afterwards. But from the errors of other nations, let us learn wisdom, and lay hold of the present opportunity----*To begin government at the right end.*

When William the Conqueror subdued England, he gave her laws at the point of the sword; and until we consent, that the seat of government, in America, be legally and authoritatively occupied, we shall be in danger of having it filled by some fortunate ruffian, who may treat us in the same manner; and then, where will be our freedom? where our property?

As to religion, I hold it to be the indispensable duty of every government, to protect all conscientious professors thereof, and I know of no other business which government hath to do

do therewith. Let a man throw aside that narrowness of soul, that selfishness of principle, which the niggards of all professions are so unwilling to part with; and he will be at once delivered of his fears on that head. Suspicion is the companion of mean souls, and the bane of all good society. For myself, I fully and conscientiously believe, that it is the will of the Almighty, that there should be a diversity of religious opinions among us: it affords a larger field for our Christian kindness. Were we all of one way of thinking, our religious dispositions would want matter for probation; and on this liberal principle, I look on the various denominations among us, to be like children of the same family, differing only, in what is called, their Christian names.

In page twenty-seven, I threw out a few thoughts on the propriety of a Continental Charter, (for I only presume to offer hints, not plans) and in this place, I take the liberty of re-mentioning the subject, by observing, that a charter is to be understood as a bond of solemn obligation, which the whole enters into, to support the right of every separate part, whether of religion, personal freedom, or property. A firm bargain and a right reckoning make long friends.

In a former page I likewise mentioned the necessity of a large and equal representation; and there is no political matter which more deserves our attention. A small number of electors, or a small number of representatives, are equally dangerous. But if the number of the representatives be not only small, but unequal, the danger is increased. As an instance of this, I mention the following; when the Associators petition was before the House of Assembly of Pennsylvania; twenty-eight members only were present; all the Bucks county members, being eight, voted against it and had seven of the Chester members done the same, this whole province had been governed by two counties only; and this danger it is always exposed to. The unwarrantable stretch likewise, which that house made in their last sitting, to gain an undue authority over the Delegates of that province, ought to warn the people at large, how they trust power out of their own hands. A set of instructions for the delegates were put together, which in point of sense and business would have dishonoured a school-boy, and after being approved by a few, a very few without doors, were carried

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into the House, and there passed *in behalf of the whole colony*; whereas, did the whole colony know, with what ill will that House hath entered on some necessary public measures, they would not hesitate a moment to think them unworthy of such a trust.

Immediate necessity makes many things convenient, which if continued, would grow into oppressions. Expedience and right are different things. When the calamities of America required a consultation, there was no method so ready, or at that time so proper, as to appoint persons from the several Houses of Assembly for that purpose; and the wisdom with which they have proceeded, hath preserved this continent from ruin. But as it is more than probable that we shall never be without a CONGRESS, every well wisher to good order, must own, that the mode for choosing members of that body, deserves consideration. And I put it as a question to those who make a study of mankind, whether *representation, and election* is not too great a power for one and the same body of men to possess? When we are planning for posterity, we ought to remember, that virtue is not hereditary.

It is from our enemies that we often gain excellent maxims; and are frequently surprised into reason by their mistakes. Mr. Cornwall (one of the Lords of the Treasury) treated the petition of the New-York Assembly with contempt, because *that* House, he said, consisted but of twenty-six members, which trifling number, he argued, could not with decency be put for the whole. We thank him for his involuntary honesty.*

To CONCLUDE, however strange it may appear to some, or however unwilling they may be to think so, it matters not, but many strong, and striking reasons may be given, to shew, that nothing can settle our affairs so expeditiously as an open, and determined declaration for independance. Some of which are,

First. It is the custom of nations, when any two are at war, for some other powers, not engaged in the quarrel, to step in as mediators, and bring about the preliminaries of a

* *Those who would fully understand of what great consequence a large and equal representation is to a state, should read Burgh's political Disquisitions.*

peace: but while America calls herself the subject of Great-Britain, no power, however well disposed she may be, can offer her mediation. Wherefore, in our present state we may quarrel on for ever.

Secondly. It is unreasonable to suppose, that France or Spain will give us any kind of assistance, if we mean only to make use of that assistance for the purpose of repairing the breach, and strengthening the connection between Britain, and America; because, those powers would be sufferers by the consequences.

Thirdly. While we profess ourselves the subjects of Britain, we must, in the eye of foreign nations, be considered as rebels. The precedent is somewhat dangerous to *their peace*, for men to be in arms under the name of subjects; we, on the spot, can solve the paradox: but to unite resistance, and subjection, requires an idea much too refined for common understandings.

Fourthly. Were a manifesto to be published, and dispatched to foreign courts, setting forth the miseries we have endured, and the peaceable methods we have ineffectually used for redress; declaring at the same time, that not being able, any longer, to live happily or safely under the cruel disposition of the British court, we had been driven to the necessity of breaking off all connection with her; at the same time, assuring all such courts of our peaceable disposition towards them, and of our desire of entering into trade with them: such a memorial would produce more good effects to this Continent, than if a ship were freighted with petitions to Britain.

Under our present denomination of British subjects, we can neither be received nor heard abroad: The custom of all courts is against us, and will be so, until, by an independance, we take rank with other nations.

These proceedings may at first appear strange and difficult; but, like all other steps which we have already passed over, will in a little time become familiar, and agreeable; and, until an independance is declared, the Continent will feel itself like a man who continues putting off some unpleasant business from day to day, yet knows it must be done, and is continually haunted with the thoughts of its necessity.

APPENDIX.

A P P E N D I X.

SINCE the publication of the first edition of this pamphlet, or rather, on the same day on which it came out, made its appearance in this city. Had the spirit of prophecy directed the birth of this production, it could not have brought it forth at a more seasonable juncture, or a more necessary time. The bloody-mindedness of the one, shew the necessity of pursuing the doctrine of the other. Men read by way of revenge. And, instead of terrifying, prepared a way for the manly principles of Independance.

Ceremony, and even, silence, from whatever motive they may arise, have a hurtful tendency, when they give the least degree of countenance to base and wicked performances; wherefore, if this maxim be admitted, it naturally follows,

deserved, and still deserves, a general execration both by thy Congress and the people. Yet, as the domestic tranquillity of a nation, depends greatly, on the *chastity* of what may properly be called NATIONAL MANNERS, it is often better, to pass some things over in silent disdain, than to make use of such new methods of dislike, as might introduce the least innovation, on that guardian of our peace and safety. And, perhaps, it is chiefly owing to this prudent delicacy, that hath not, before now, suffered a public execution. The, if it may be called one, is nothing better than a wilful audacious libel against the truth, the common good, and the existence of mankind; and is a formal and pompous method of offering up human sacrifices to the pride of tyrants. But this general massacre of mankind, is one of the privileges, and the certain consequence of; for as nature knows them *not* they know *not her*; and although they are beings of our *own* creating, they know *not us* and are become the gods of their creators. The hath one good quality, which is, that it is not calculated to deceive, neither can we, even if we would, be deceived by it. Brutality and tyranny appear on the face of it. It leaves us at no loss; and every line convinces, even in the moment of reading

reading, that He, who hunts the woods for prey, the naked and untutored Indian, is less a Savage than

Sir John Dalrymple, the putative father of a whining jesuitical piece, fallaciously called, "*The Address of the people of ENGLAND to the inhabitants of AMERICA*," hath, perhaps, from a vain supposition, that the people *here* were to be frightened at the pomp and description of a king, given, (though very unwisely on his part) the real character of the present one: "But," says this writer, "if you are inclined to pay compliments to an administration, which we do not complain of," (meaning the Marquis of Rockingham's at the repeal of the Stamp Act) "it is very unfair in you to withhold them from that prince, *by whose* NOD ALONE *they were permitted to do any thing.*" This is toryism with a witness! Here is idolatry even without a mask: And he who can calmly hear, and digest such doctrine, hath forfeited his claim to rationality---an apostate from the order of manhood; and ought to be considered---as one, who hath not only given up the proper dignity of man, but sunk himself beneath the rank of animals, and contemptibly crawls through the world like a worm.

It is *now* the interest of America to provide for herself. She hath already a large and young family, whom it is more her duty to take care of, than to be granting away her property, to support a power which is become a reproach to the names of men and christians---YE, whose office it is to watch over the morals of a nation, of whatsoever sect or denomination ye are of, as well as ye, who, are more immediately the guardians of the public liberty, if ye wish to preserve your native country uncontaminated by European corruption, ye must in secret wish a separation---But leaving the moral part to private reflection, I shall chiefly confine my farther remarks to the following heads.

First. That it is the interest of America to be separated from Britain.

Secondly

Secondly. Which is the easiest and most practicable plan, RECONCILIATION OR INDEPENDANCE; With some occasional remarks.

In support of the first, I could, if I judged it proper, produce the opinions of some of the ablest and most experienced men on this Continent; and whose sentiments, on that head, are not yet publicly known. It is in reality a self-evident position: For no nation in a state of foreign dependance, limited in its commerce, and cramped, and fettered in its legislative powers, can ever arrive at any material eminence. America doth not yet know what opulence is; and although the progress which she hath made stands unparalleled in the history of other nations, it is but childhood, compared with what she would be capable of arriving at, had she, as she ought to have, the legislative powers in her own hands. England is, at this time, proudly coveting what would do her no good, were she to accomplish it; and the Continent hesitating on a matter, which will be her final ruin if neglected. It is the commerce, and not the conquest of America, by which England is to be benefited; and that would in a great measure continue, were the countries as independant of each other as France, and Spain; because in many articles, neither can go to a better market. But it is the independance of this country on Britain or any other, which is now the main and only object worthy of contention; and which, like all other truths discovered by necessity, will appear clearer, and stronger every day.

First. Because it will come to that one time or other.

Secondly. Because, the longer it is delayed the harder it will be to accomplish.

I have frequently amused myself, both in public and private companies, with silently remarking the specious errors of those who speak without reflecting. And among the many which I have heard, the following seems the most general, viz. that had this rupture happened forty, or fifty years hence, instead of *now*, the Continent would have been more able to have shaken off the dependance. To which I reply, that our military ability, *at this time*, arises from the experience gained in the last war; and which in forty or fifty years time, would have been totally extinct. The Continent, would not,

not, by that time, have had a General, or even a military officer left; and we, or those who may succeed us, would have been as ignorant of martial matters as the ancient Indians: And this single position, closely attended to, will unanswerably prove, that the present time is preferable to all others. The argument turns thus—at the conclusion of the last war, we had experience, but wanted numbers; and forty or fifty years hence, we should have numbers, without experience; wherefore, the proper point of time, must be some particular point between the two extremes, in which a sufficiency of the former remains, and a proper increase of the latter is obtained: And that point of time is the present time.

The reader will pardon this digression, as it does not properly come under the head I first set out with, and to which I shall again return by the following position, viz.

Should affairs be patched up with Britain, and she remain the governing, and sovereign power of America (which, as matters are now circumstanced, is giving up the point entirely) we should deprive ourselves of the very means of sinking the debt we have, or may contract. The value of the back lands, which some of the provinces are clandestinely deprived of, by the unjust extension of the limits of Canada, valued only at five pounds sterling per hundred acres, amount to upwards of twenty-five millions, Pennsylvania currency;—and the quit-rents at one penny sterling per acre, to two millions yearly.

It is by the sale of those lands that the debt may be sunk, without burthen to any; and the quit-rent reserved thereon, will always lessen, and in time will wholly support the yearly expence of government. It matters not how long the debt is in paying, so that the lands when sold be applied to the discharge of it; and for the execution of which, the Congress for the time being will be the continental trustees.

I proceed now to the second head, viz. Which is the easiest and most practicable plan, RECONCILIATION or INDEPENDANCE; with some occasional remarks.

He who takes nature for his guide is not easily beaten out of his argument, and on that ground, I answer *generally*—
that INDEPENDANCE being a SINGLE, SIMPLE
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LINE, contained within ourselves; and *Reconciliation*, a matter exceedingly perplexed and complicated, and in which a treacherous, capricious court is to interfere, gives the answer without a doubt.

The present state of America is truly alarming to every man who is capable of reflection. Without law, without government, without any other mode of power than what is founded on, and granted by, courtesy. Held together by an unexampled concurrence of sentiment, which is nevertheless subject to change, and which every secret enemy is endeavouring to dissolve. Our present condition is, Legislation without law; wisdom without a plan; a constitution without a name; and, what is strangely astonishing, perfect Independance contending for dependance. The instance is without a precedent; the case never existed before; and who can tell what may be the event? The property of no man is secure in the present unbraced system of things. The mind of the multitude is left at random; and seeing no fixed object before them, they pursue such as fancy, or opinion starts. Nothing is criminal; there is no such thing as treason; wherefore, every one thinks himself at liberty to act as he pleases. The tories dared not to have assembled offensively, had they known that their lives, by that act, were forfeited to the laws of the state. A line of distinction should be drawn between English soldiers taken in battle, and inhabitants of America taken in arms. The first are prisoners, but the latter traitors. The one forfeits his liberty, the other his head.

Notwithstanding our wisdom, there is a visible feebleness in some of our proceedings which gives encouragement to dissensions. The Continental Belt is too loosely buckled. And if something is not done in time, it will be too late to do any thing, and we shall fall into a state, in which neither *Reconciliation*, nor *Independance* will be practicable. The and his worthless adherents are got at their old game of dividing the Continent; and there are not wanting among us Printers, who will be busy in spreading specious falsehoods. The artful, and hypocritical letter which appeared a few months ago in two of the New-York papers, and likewise in two others, is an evidence that there are men who want either judgement, or honesty.

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It is easy getting into holes and corners, and talking of reconciliation. But do such men seriously consider, how difficult the task is; and how dangerous it may prove, should the Continent divide thereon? Do they take within their view, all the various orders of men, whose situation and circumstances, as well as their own, are to be considered therein? Do they put themselves in the place of the sufferer whose *all* is *already* gone; and of the soldier who hath quitted *all* for the defence of his country? If their ill-judged moderation be suited to their own private situations only, regardless of others, the event will convince them, “that they are reckoning without their host.”

Put us, say some, on the footing we were in sixty three: To which I answer, the request is not *now* in the power of Britain to comply with, neither will she propose it but if it were, and even should be granted, I ask, as a reasonable question, By what means is such a corrupt and faithless court to be kept to its engagements? Another parliament, nay, even the present, may hereafter repeal the obligation, on the pretence of its being violently obtained, or unwisely granted; and in that case, Where is our redress? No going to law with nations: cannon are the barristers of crowns; and the sword, not of justice, but of war, decides the suit. To be on the footing of sixty-three, it is not sufficient, that the laws only be put in the same state, but, that our circumstances, likewise, be put in the same state; our burnt and destroyed towns repaired or built up, our private losses made good, our public debts (contracted for defence) discharged; otherwise we shall be millions worse than we were at that enviable period. Such a request, had it been complied with a year ago, would have won the heart and soul of the Continent—but it is now too late, “The Rubicon is passed.”

Besides, the taking up arms merely to enforce the repeal of a pecuniary law, seems as unwarrantable by the divine law, and as repugnant to human feelings, as the taking up arms to enforce obedience thereto. The object on either side, doth not justify the means; for the lives of men are too valuable to be cast away on such trifles. It is the violence which is done and threatened to our persons; the destruction of our property by an armed force; the invasion of our country by fire and sword, which conscientiously qualifies the use of arms:

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And the instant, in which such a mode of defence became necessary, all subjection to Britain ought to have ceased; and the independancy of America should have been considered, as dating its æra from and published by, *the first musket that was fired against her*. This line is a line of consistency; neither drawn by caprice, nor extended by ambition; but produced by a chain of events, of which the colonies were not the authors.

I shall conclude these remarks, with the following timely and well intended hints. We ought to reflect, that there are three different ways, by which an independancy can hereafter be effected; and that *one* of those *three*, will one day or other, be the fate of America, viz. By the legal voice of the people in Congress; by a military power; or by a mob. It may not always happen that our soldiers are citizens, and the multitude a body of reasonable men; virtue, as I have already remarked, is not hereditary, neither is it perpetual. Should an independancy be brought about by the first of those means, we have every opportunity, and every encouragement before us, to form the noblest, purest constitution on the face of the earth. We have it in our power to begin the world over again. A situation, similar to the present, hath not happened since the days of Noah. The birth-day of a new world is at hand, and a race of men perhaps as numerous as all Europe contains, are to receive their portion of freedom from the event of a few months. The reflexion is awful—and in this point of view, how trifling, how ridiculous, do the little, paltry cavillings, of a few weak, or interested men appear, when weighed against the business of a world!

Should we neglect the present favourable, and inviting period, and an independance be hereafter effected by any other means, we must charge the consequence to ourselves; or to those rather, whose narrow and prejudiced souls, are habitually opposing the measure, without either inquiring, or reflecting. There are reasons to be given in support of Independance, which men should rather privately think of, than be publicly told of. We ought not now to be debating whether we shall be independant or not, but, anxious to accomplish it on a firm, secure, and honourable basis, and uneasy rather that it is not yet begun upon. Every day convinces us of its necessity. Even the Tories (if such beings yet remain

remain among us) should, of all men, be the most solicitous to promote it; for, as the appointment of committees at first, protected them from popular rage, so, a wise and well established form of government, will be the only certain means of continuing protection to them. *Wherefore*, if they have not virtue enough to be WHIGS, they ought to have prudence enough to wish for independance.

In short, independance is the only BOND that can tie and keep us together. We shall then see our object, and our ears will be legally shut against the schemes of an intriguing, as well, as a cruel enemy. We shall then too, be on a proper footing, to treat with Britain; for there is reason to conclude, that the pride of that court will be less hurt by treating with the American states for terms of peace, than with those, whom she denominates, "rebellious subjects," for terms of accommodation. It is our delaying it that encourages her to hope for conquest, and our backwardness tends only to prolong the war. As we have, without any good effect therefrom, withheld our trade to obtain a redress of our grievances, let us *now* try the alternative, by *independantly* redressing them ourselves, and then offering to open the trade. The mercantile and reasonable part in England, will be still with us; because, peace *with* trade, is preferable to war *without* it. And if this offer be not accepted, other courts may be applied to.

On these grounds I rest the matter. And as no offer hath yet been made to refute the doctrine contained in the former editions of this pamphlet, it is a negative proof, that either the doctrine cannot be refuted, or, that the party in favour of it are too numerous to be opposed. **WHEREFORE**, instead of gazing at each other with suspicious or doubtful curiosity, let each of us hold out to his neighbour the hearty hand of friendship, and unite in drawing a line, which, like an act of oblivion shall bury in forgetfulness every former dissention. Let the names of Whig, and Tory be extinct; and let none other be heard among us, but those of a *good citizen, an open and resolute friend, and a virtuous supporter of the RIGHTS of MANKIND and of the FREE, AND INDEPENDANT STATES OF AMERICA.*

To the Representatives of the Religious Society of the People called Quakers, or to so many of them as were concerned in publishing a late piece, entitled "The ANCIENT TESTIMONY and " PRINCIPLES of the People called QUAKERS renewed, with Respect to the KING " and GOVERNMENT, and touching the " COMMOTIONS now prevailing in these " and other parts of AMERICA, addressed to " the PEOPLE IN GENERAL."

THE Writer of this, is one of those few, who never dishonours religion either by ridiculing, or cavilling at any denomination whatsoever. To God, and not to man, are all men accountable on the score of religion. Wherefore, this epistle is not so properly addressed to you as a religious, but as a political body, dabbling in matters, which the professed Quietude of your Principles instructs you not to meddle with.

As you have, without a proper authority for so doing, put yourselves in the place of the whole body of the Quakers, so, the writer of this, in order to be on an equal rank with yourselves, is under the necessity, of putting himself in the place of all those, who approve of the very writings and principles, against which your testimony is directed: And he hath chosen this singular situation, in order, that you might discover in him that presumption of character which you cannot see in yourselves. For neither he nor you can have any claim, or title to *Political Representation*.

When men have departed from the right way, it is no wonder that they stumble, and fall. And it is evident from the manner in which ye have managed your testimony, that politics (as a religious body of men) is not your proper walk. However well adapted it might appear to you, it is, nevertheless, a jumble of good, and bad put unwisely together; and the conclusion drawn therefrom both unnatural and unjust.

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The two first pages, (and the whole doth not make four) we give you credit for, and expect the same civility from you, because the love and desire of peace is not confined to Quakerism, it is the *natural*, as well the religious wish of all denominations of men. And on this ground, as men labouring to establish an Independant Constitution of our own, do we exceed all others in our hope, end, and aim. *Our plan is peace for ever.* We are tired of contention with Britain, and can see no real end to it but in a final separation. We act consistently, because for the sake of introducing an endless and uninterrupted peace, do we bear the evils and burthens of the present day. We are endeavouring, and will steadily continue to endeavour, to separate and dissolve a connexion which hath already filled our land with blood; and which, while the name of it remains, will be the fatal cause of future mischiefs to both countries.

We fight neither for revenge, nor conquest; neither from pride nor passion; we are not insulting the world with our fleets, and armies; nor ravaging the globe for plunder. Beneath the shade of our own vines are we attacked; in our own houses, and in our own land, is the violence committed against us. We view our enemies in the character of highwaymen, and housebreakers; and having no defence for ourselves in the civil law, are obliged to punish them by the military one, and apply the sword, in the very case, where you have before now, applied the halter——Perhaps we feel for the ruined, and insulted sufferers in all, and every part of the continent, with a degree of tenderness which hath not yet made its way into some of your bosoms. But be ye sure that ye mistake not the cause, and ground of your Testimony. Call not coldness of soul, religion; nor put the *Bigot* in the place of the *Christian*.

O ye partial ministers of your own acknowledged principles. If the bearing arms be sinful, the first going to war must be more so, by all the difference between wilful attack and unavoidable defence. Wherefore, if ye really preach from conscience, and mean not to make a political hobby-horse of your religion, convince the world thereof, by proclaiming your doctrine to our enemies, *for they likewise bear ARMS.* Give us proof of your sincerity by publishing it at St. James's, to the commanders in chief at Boston, to the admirals

mirals and captains who are piratically ravaging our coasts, and to all the murdering miscreants who are acting in authority under whom ye profess to serve. Had ye the honest soul of * *Barclay* ye would preach repentance to your king; Ye would tell the his sins, and warn him of eternal ruin. Ye would not spend your partial invectives against the injured, and the insulted only, but, like faithful ministers, would cry aloud and spare none. * Say not that ye are persecuted, neither endeavour to make us the authors of that reproach, which ye are bringing upon yourselves; for we testify unto all men, that we do not complain against you because ye are *Quakers*, but because ye pretend to be and are NOT *Quakers*.

Alas! it seems by the particular tendency of some part of your testimony, and other parts of your conduct, as if all sin was reduced to, and comprehended in, *the act of bearing arms*, and that by the *people only*. Ye appear to us, to have mistaken party for conscience; because, the general tenor of your actions wants uniformity: And it is exceedingly difficult for us to give credit to many of your pretended scruples; because we see them made by the same men, who, in the very instant that they are exclaiming against the mammon of this world, are nevertheless, hunting after it with a step as steady as Time, and an appetite as keen as Death.

The quotation which ye have made from Proverbs, in the third page of your testimony, that, "when a man's ways

* "Thou hast tasted of prosperity and adversity; thou knowest what it is to be banished thy native country, to be over-ruled as well as to rule, and sit upon the throne; and being oppressed thou hast reason to know how hateful the oppressor is both to God and man: If after all these warnings and advertisements, thou dost not turn unto the Lord with all thy heart, but forget him who remembered thee in thy distress, and give up thyself to follow lust and vanity, surely great will be thy condemnation.—Against which snare, as well as the temptation of those who may or do feed thee, and prompt thee to evil, the most excellent and prevalent remedy will be to apply thyself to that light of Christ which shineth in thy conscience, and which neither can, nor will flatter thee, nor suffer thee to be at ease in thy sins."

Barclay's Address to Charles II.

please

please the Lord, he maketh even his enemies to be at peace with him"; is very unwisely chosen on your part; because, it amounts to a proof, that the (whom ye are so desirous of supporting) do *not* please the Lord, otherwise, his reign would be in peace.

I now proceed to the latter part of your testimony, and that, for which all the foregoing seems only an introduction, viz.

"It hath ever been our judgment and principle, since we were called to profess the light of Christ Jesus, manifested in our consciences unto this day, that the setting up and putting down kings and governments, is God's peculiar prerogative; for causes best known to himself: And that it is not our business to have any hand, or contrivance therein; nor to be busy bodies above our station, much less to plot and contrive the ruin, or overturn of any of them, but to pray for the king, and safety of our nation, and good of all men: That we may live a peaceable and quiet life, in all godliness and honesty; *under the government which God is pleased to set over us.*"—If these are really your principles why do ye not abide by them? Why do ye not leave that, which ye call God's Work, to be managed by himself? These very principles instruct you to wait with patience and humility, for the event of all public measures and to receive *that event* as the divine will towards you. *Wherefore*, what occasion is there for your *political testimony* if you fully believe what it contains? And the very publishing it proves, that either, ye do not believe what ye profess, or have not virtue enough to practise what ye believe.

The principles of Quakerism have a direct tendency to make a man the quiet, and inoffensive subject of any and every government *which is set over him*. And if the setting up and putting down of kings and governments is God's peculiar prerogative, he most certainly will not be robbed thereof by us; wherefore, the principle itself leads you to approve of every thing, which ever happened, or may happen to kings as being his work. OLIVER CROMWELL thanks you. CHARLES, then, died not by the hands of men; and should the present Proud Imitator of him, come to the same untimely end, the writers, and publishers of the Testimony, are bound

bound, by the doctrine it contains, to applaud the fact. Kings are not taken away by miracles, neither are changes in governments brought about by any other means than such as are common and human; and such as we are now using. Even the dispersion of the Jews, though foretold by our Saviour, was effected by arms. Wherefore, as ye refuse to be the means on one side, ye ought not to be meddlers on the other; but to wait the issue in silence; and unless ye can produce divine authority, to prove that the Almighty who hath created and placed this *new* world, at the greatest distance it could possibly stand, east and west, from every part of the old, doth, nevertheless, disapprove of its being independent of the corrupt and abandoned court of Britain, unless I say, ye can shew this, how can ye on the ground of your principles, justify the exciting and stirring up the people “firmly to unite
“in the *abhorrence* of all such *writings*, and *measures*, as evidence a desire and design to break off the *happy* connexion
“we have hitherto enjoyed, with the kingdom of Great-Britain, and our just and necessary subordination to the king,
“and those who are lawfully placed in authority under him.” What a slap of the face is here! the men, who in the very paragraph before, have quietly and passively resigned up the ordering, altering, and disposal of kings and governments, into the hands of God, are now, recalling their principles, and putting in for a share of the business. Is it possible, that the conclusion, which is here justly quoted, can any ways follow from the doctrine laid down? The inconsistency is too glaring not to be seen; the absurdity too great not to be laughed at; and such as could only have been made by those, whose understandings were darkened by the narrow, and crabbed spirit of a despairing political party; for ye are not to be considered as the whole body of the Quakers, but only as a *actional*, and *fractional* part thereof.

Here ends the examination of your testimony; (which I call upon no man to abhor, as ye have done, but only to read and judge of fairly;) to which I subjoin the following remark; “That the setting up and putting down of kings,” most certainly mean, the making him a king, who is yet not so, and the making him no king who is already one. And pray what hath this to do in the present case? We neither mean to *set up*, nor to *put down*, neither to *make* nor to *unmake*, but

to have nothing to *do* with them. Wherefore, your testimony (in whatever light it is viewed) serves only to dishonor your judgment, and for many other reasons had better have been let alone than published.

First, Because it tends to the decrease and reproach of all religion whatever, and is of the utmost danger to society, to make it a party in political disputes.

Secondly, Because it exhibits a body of men, numbers of whom disavow the publishing political testimonies, as being concerned therein and approvers thereof.

Thirdly, Because it hath a tendency to undo that continental harmony, and friendship which yourselves by your late liberal, and charitable donations have lent a hand to establish; and the preservation of which, is of the utmost consequence to us all.

And here without anger or resentment I bid you farewell. Sincerely wishing, that as men, and christians, ye may always fully and uninterruptedly enjoy every civil and religious right; and be in your turn, the means of securing it to others; but that the example which ye have unwisely set, of mingling religion with politics, *may be disavowed, and reprobated by every inhabitant of AMERICA.*



F I N I S.

R with preced. 1141. d. 1

PLAIN TRUTH:

ADDRESSED TO THE
INHABITANTS OF AMERICA.

CONTAINING

Remarks on a late Pamphlet,

INTITLED

COMMON SENSE;

Wherein are shewn, that the Scheme of INDEPENDENCE is ruinous, delusive, and impracticable; that were the Author's Affeверations, respecting the Power of AMERICA, as real as nugatory, Reconciliation on liberal Principles with GREAT BRITAIN would be exalted Policy; and that, circumstanced as we are, permanent Liberty and true Happiness can only be obtained by Reconciliation with that Kingdom.

WRITTEN by CANDIDUS.

Will ye turn from Flattery and attend to this Side?
There TRUTH, unlicenc'd, walks; and dares accost
Even Kings themselves, the Monarchs of the Free.

THOMSON on the Liberties of BRITAIN.

SECOND EDITION.

PHILADELPHIA, Printed:

LONDON, Reprinted for J. ALMON, opposite BURLINGTON
HOUSE, in PICCADILLY.

M.DCC.LXXVI.

THE AMERICAN
HABIT OF AMERICA

Remarks on a late Pamphlet

COMMITTEE

THE AMERICAN HABIT OF AMERICA
A PAMPHLET BY JAMES M. SMITH
LONDON: PUBLISHED BY J. JOHNSON, ST. PAUL'S CHURCH-YARD, 1800.

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373.



JOHN DICKINSON, ESQUIRE:

ALTHOUGH I have not the honor to be known to you, I am not unacquainted with your native candor and unbounded benevolence. As happy as obscure, I am indeed a stranger to the language of adulation: flattery I detest; virtue I respect.

Be not offended, Sir, if I remark that your character is contemplated with profound veneration by the friends of the Constitution. Those abilities which you so illustriously displayed in defence of the Constitution, they now supplicate you to exert, in saving it from impending ruin, under the Syren form of delusive Independence.

Step then forth; exert those talents with which heaven has endowed you; and cause the parent and her children to embrace, and be foes no more. Arduous as this extraordinary task may seem, perhaps your virtue and talents may yet effect it. Your endeavors to stop the effusion of blood, of torrents of blood, is worthy of your acknowledged humanity—even the honest attempt, upon recollection, will afford you ineffable satisfaction.

My presuming to inscribe to you the following crude remarks is to remind you, Sir, what your distressed country expects, nay loudly demands from your extensive capacity.

I beg you will forgive this temerity; and that you may long enjoy the fruits of your exalted virtue, and remain an honor to your country, and to mankind, is the ardent wish of,

S I R,

*Your most obedient**and respectful servant,*

CANDIDUS.

*Mr. James Cha
J. Mangla*

INTRODUCTION.

IF, indignant at the doctrine contained in the pamphlet intitled *Common Sense*, I have expressed myself, in the following observations, with some ardor, I entreat the reader to impute my indignation to honest zeal against the author's insidious tenets. Animated and impelled by every inducement of the human heart, I love, and (if I dare so express myself) I adore my country. Passionately devoted to true liberty, I glow with the purest flame of patriotism. Silver'd with age as I am, if I know myself, my humble sword shall not be wanting to my country (if the most honorable terms are not tendered by the British nation); to whose sacred cause I am most fervently devoted. The judicious reader will not impute my honest, though bold remarks, to unfriendly designs against my children—against my country; but to abhorrence of independency, which, if effected, would inevitably plunge our once pre-eminently envied country into ruin, horror, and desolation.

PLAIN

to be found, as in Great Britain and her dependencies. After our author has employed several pages to break the mounds of society by debasing monarchs, he says, "the plain truth is, that the antiquity of English monarchy will not bear looking into."

Hume, treating of the original contract, has the following melancholy, but sensible observation; "yet reason tells us, that there is no property in durable objects, such as lands and houses, when carefully examined, in passing from hand to hand, but must in some period have been founded on fraud and injustice. The necessities of human society, neither in private or public life, will allow of such an accurate enquiry; and there is no virtue or moral duty, but what may, with facility, be refined away, if we indulge a false philosophy, in sifting and scrutinizing, by every captious rule of logic, in every light or position in which it may be placed."

Say, ye votaries of honour and truth, can we adduce a stronger proof of our author's turpitude, than his quoting the anti-philosophical story of the Jews, to debase monarchy and the best of monarchs. Briefly examining the story of this contemptible race, more barbarous than our savages, we find their history a continued succession of miracles, astonishing our imaginations, and exercising our faith. After wandering forty years in horrid deserts, they are chiefly condemned to perish for their perverseness, although under the immediate dominion of the king of heaven. At length they arrive in the sterile country of Palestine, which they conquer by exterminating the inhabitants, and warring like demons. The inhabitants of the adjoining regions justly, therefore, held them in detestation, and the Jews finding themselves constantly abhorred, have ever since hated all mankind. This people, as destitute of arts and industry as humanity, had not even in their language a word expressive of education. We might indeed remind our author, who so readily drags in the Old Testament to support his sinister measures, that we could draw from that source many texts favourable to monarchy, were we not conscious that the Mosaic law gives way to the gospel dispensation. The reader no

doubt will be gratified by the following extract from a most primitive christian: "Christianity is a spiritual religion, relative only to celestial objects. The christian's inheritance is not of this world. He performs his duty it is true, but this he does with a profound indifference for the good or ill success of his endeavours: provided he hath nothing to reproach himself, it is of little consequence to him whether matters go well or ill here below. If the state be in a flourishing condition, he can hardly venture to rejoice in the public felicity, lest he should be puffed up with the inordinate pride of his country's glory. If the state decline, he blesses the hand of God, that humbles his people to the dust."

Having defined the best government, I will humbly attempt to describe good kings by the following unerring rule. The best princes are constantly calumniated by the envenomed tongues and pens of the most worthless of their subjects. For this melancholy truth, do I appeal to the testimony of impartial historians, and long experience. The noble impartial historian Sully, speaking of the almost divine Henry the fourth of France, says, "Thus was this god-like prince represented (by the discontented of these days) almost throughout his whole kingdom, as a furious and implacable tyrant: they were never without one set of arguments to engage his catholic nobility in a rebellion against him; and another to sow sedition among his protestant officers and gentry." Hume says, that the cruel unrelenting tyrant, Philip the second of Spain, with his infernal inquisition, was not more detested by the people of the Netherlands, than was the humane Charles with his inoffensive liturgy, by his mutinous subjects. The many unmerited insults offered to our gracious sovereign by the unprincipled Wilkes, and others down to this late author, will for ever disgrace humanity. For he says, "that monarchy was the most prosperous invention the devil ever set on foot for the promotion of idolatry. It is the pride of kings which throws mankind into confusion: in short, continues this author, monarchy and succession have laid not this or that kingdom only, but the world in blood and ashes." How deplorably wretched the condition

dition of mankind, could they believe such execrable flagitious jargon! Unhappily indeed, mankind in every age are susceptible of delusion; but surely our author's poison carries its antidote with it. Attentive to the spirit of his publication, we fancy ourselves in the barbarous fifteenth century; in which period our author would have figured with his "Common Sense"—and blood will attend it.

After his terrible anathema against our venerable constitution and monarchy, let us briefly examine a democratical state; and see whether or not it is a government less sanguinary. This government is extremely plausible and indeed flattering to the pride of mankind. The demagogues therefore, to seduce the people into their criminal designs, ever hold up democracy to them; although conscious it never did, nor ever will answer in practice. If we believe a great author, "there never existed, nor ever will exist a real democracy in the world." If we examine the republics of Greece and Rome, we ever find them in a state of war domestic or foreign. Our author therefore makes no mention of these antient states. "When Alexander ordered all the exiles to be restored throughout all the cities, it was found that the whole amounted to twenty thousand, the remains probably of still greater slaughters and massacres. What an astonishing number in so narrow a country as antient Greece? and what domestic confusion, jealousy, partiality, revenge, heart-burnings must tear those cities, where factions were wrought up to such a degree of fury and despair?" Appian's history of the civil wars of Rome contains the most frightful picture of massacres, proscriptions, and forfeitures that ever were presented to the world.

The excellent Montesquieu declares, "that a democracy supposes the concurrence of a number of circumstances rarely united; in the first place, it is requisite that the state itself should be of small extent, so that the people might be easily assembled and personally known to each other: secondly, the simplicity of their manners should be such as to prevent a multiplicity of affairs, and perplexity in discussing them: and thirdly, there should subsist a great degree of equality between them, in point of right and authority:

a perfect knowledge of it: a being, in short, whose happiness should be independent of us, and who would nevertheless employ itself about us. It is the province of Gods to make laws for men." With the utmost deference to the celebrated Rousseau, I cannot indeed imagine, that laws even so constructed, would materially benefit our imperfect race, unless Omniscience deigned previously to exalt our nature. The judicious reader will therefore perceive, that malevolence only is requisite to declaim against, and arraign the most perfect governments. Our political quack avails himself of this trite expedient, to cajole the people into the most abject slavery, under the delusive name of independence. His first indecent attack is against the English constitution, which, with all its imperfections, is, and ever will be, the pride and envy of mankind. To this panegyric involuntarily our author subscribes, by granting individuals to be safer in England, than in any other part of Europe. He indeed insidiously attributes this pre-eminent excellency to the constitution of the people, rather than to our excellent constitution: to such contemptible subterfuge is our author reduced. I would ask him, why did not the constitution of the people afford them superior safety, in the reign of Richard the third, Henry the eighth, and other tyrannic princes? Many pages might indeed be filled with encomiums bestowed on our excellent constitution by illustrious authors of different nations.

This beautiful system (according to Montesquieu) our constitution is a compound of monarchy, aristocracy, and democracy. But it is often said, that the sovereign, by honours and appointments, influences the commons. The profound and elegant Hume agitating this question, thinks, to this circumstance, we are in part indebted for our supreme felicity; since, without such controul in the crown, our constitution would immediately degenerate into democracy; a government which, in the sequel, I hope to prove ineligible. Were I asked marks of the best government, and the purpose of political society, I would reply, the encrease, preservation, and prosperity of its members; in no quarter of the globe are those marks so certainly

the rugged and incult deserts of Swisserland preclude not ambition, sedition, and anarchy. Her bleak and barren mountains do not so effectually secure precarious liberty, as daily vending her sons to the adjoining nations, particularly to France, by whom the Thirteen Cantons could be subjected in as many days, did that court meditate so senseless and delusive an object. Nugatory indeed, if we consider, that France derives more substantial advantage from the present state of Swisserland, than if she exhausted herself, to maintain numerous battalions to bridle the Cantons. A moment let us suppose, that our author's asseverations of Holland and Swisserland are as real as delusive: his inferences do not flow from his premises; for their superior advantages do not arise from their popular government, but from circumstances of peculiar local felicity, obliging the princes of Europe to defend them from the omnipotent land force, if I may so speak, of France. After impotently attacking our sovereign and the constitution, he contradicts the voice of all mankind, by declaring, that America "would have flourished as much, and probably much more, had no European power taken any notice of her."

If he means, that had this continent been unexplored, the original inhabitants would have been happier, for once I agree with him. Previous to the settlement of these provinces by our ancestors, the kingdom of France was convulsed by religious phrenzy. This, and Sebastian Cabot's prior discovery, perhaps, happily afforded the people of England an opportunity of locating these provinces. At length, peace being restored to France by her hero, Henry the Fourth, his nation in turn were seized with the rage of colonizing. Finding the English claimed the provinces on the Atlantic, they appropriated the snow banks of Canada, which we dare not suppose they would have preferred to these fertile provinces, had not the prior occupancy and power of England interfered. I hope it will not be denied, that the notice taken of us at this time by an European power, was rather favourable for us.—Certain it is, had not England then taken notice of us, these selectable provinces would now appertain to France; and
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the people of New England, horrid to think, would now be counting their beads. Some years after the æra in question, the civil wars intervening in England, afforded to the Swedes and Dutch a footing on this continent. Charles the second being restored, England reviving her claim, rendered abortive the Swedish pretensions, and by conquest, and granting Surinam to the Dutch, procured the cession of their usurpation, now New York. I do indeed confess my incapacity to discern the injury sustained by this second "notice taken of us by an European power;" in default of which intervention, the Swedes, to this hour, would have retained their settlement, now the famed Pennsylvania; and the Dutch, consequently, had retained theirs. Some time after this period, the people of New England were employed in framing and executing laws, so intolerant and sanguinary, that to us they seem adapted for devils, and not men.

Indeed it is worthy of note, that the inhabitants of Jamaica, Barbadoes, and Virginia, at that very time, enacted laws, breathing the spirit of humanity, and such as men could bear. Soon after the period in question arrived the great and good William Penn, with his philosophic people called Quakers, together with toleration, industry, and permanent credit. The people of England, encouraged by the extension of their laws and commerce to those colonies, powerfully assisted our merchants and planters, in so much, that our settlements encreased rapidly, and throve apace. It may be affirmed, that from this period, until the present unhappy hour, no part of human kind ever experienced more perfect felicity. Voltaire indeed says, that if ever the golden age existed, it was in Pennsylvania. France, disgusted with the unhappy situation of her American Colonies, had long meditated the conquest of one of our middle provinces: to accomplish this purpose, she extended a line of forts on our frontiers, and actually fortified the place now called Pittsburgh. Justly alarmed by these encroachments, in the hour of our distress we called aloud on Great Britain for assistance, nor was she deaf to our cries. The English ministry, after in vain exhausting all the arts of negociation, declared war against France.

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After spilling torrents of blood, after expending one hundred and ninety millions of their dollars, and four or five millions of ours, they gloriously reduced the French settlements. Surely it will not be said, that this last notice taken of us by the people of England, was injurious to us? Our enemies indeed alledge, that this last intervention by bloating us with pride, will eventually ruin us, and render the people of Britain objects of derision, for lavishing their blood and treasure in defence of provinces; "a match not only for Europe (according to our author) but for the world."—Our author next remarks, "that the commerce by which she hath enriched herself, are the necessaries of life, and will always have a market while eating is the custom of Europe."

I reply, that our exporting grain is as it were of yesterday; that the recent demand was principally occasioned by the distractions in Poland, and other parts of Europe, and probably will totally or partly fail, soon as the fertile country of Poland, and more fertile Ukraine, shall again become cultivated. I believe the Europeans did eat before our merchants exported our grain, and perhaps will eat when they cease to export it. I deny, that this momentary commerce hath enriched us; and I could adduce numberless melancholy proofs of the contrary. I shall only remark, that in the most fertile and delectable wheat country in America, bounded by Chesapeake-bay, and almost adjoining that of Delaware, a tract of the best wheat land, ten years ago, would hardly have exceeded a guinea and a half per acre; indeed in 1773, such land, covered with wood, would scarcely have sold for four guineas an acre; an undoubted proof of want of people, industry, and wealth; particularly so, if we consider that one crop of corn and wheat on such land, judiciously cultivated, would actually repay the supposed price. Our author asserts, "that our present numbers are sufficient to repel the force of all the world; that the Continent hath at this time the largest disciplined army of any power under heaven; that the English navy is only worth three millions and a half sterling," which, in effect, would reduce it to thirty-five ships of the line, twenty ships of forty guns, twenty of thirty-six, and eight of twenty guns. "That if America had only a twentieth part of this

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force, she would be by far an over-match for Britain: that independence is necessary, because France and Spain cannot assist us until such an event." He also affirms, "that Great Britain cannot govern us; and that no good can arise from a reconciliation with her."

I shall humbly endeavour to shew, that our author shamefully misrepresents facts, is ignorant of the true state of Great Britain and her Colonies, utterly unqualified for the arduous task he has presumptuously assumed, and ardently intent on seducing us to that precipice on which himself stands trembling. To elucidate my strictures, I must with fidelity expose the circumstances of Great Britain and her Colonies. If, therefore, in the energy of description, I unfold certain bold and honest truths with simplicity, the judicious reader will remember, that a true knowledge of our situation is as essential to our safety as ignorance thereof may endanger it. In the English provinces, exclusive of negroe and other slaves, we have one hundred and sixty thousand or one hundred and seventy thousand men capable of bearing arms. If we deduct the people called Quakers, Anabaptists, and other religionists averse to arms, a considerable part of the emigrants, and those having a grateful predilection for the ancient constitution and parent state, we shall certainly reduce the first number to sixty or seventy thousand men. Now, admitting those equal to the Roman legions, can we suppose them capable of defending against the power of Britain, a country nearly twelve hundred miles extending on the ocean? Suppose our troops assembled in New England, if the Britains see not fit to assail them, they haste to and desolate our other provinces, which eventually would reduce New England. If, by dividing our forces, we pretend to defend our provinces, we also are infallibly undone. Our most fertile provinces, filled with unnumbered domestic enemies, slaves, intersected by navigable rivers, every where accessible to the fleets and armies of Britain, can make no defence. If, without the medium of passion and prejudice, we view our other provinces, half armed, destitute of money and a navy, we must confess, that no power ever engaged such potent antagonists under such peculiar circumstances of infelicity. In the better days of Rome, she permitted no regular

gular troops to defend her. Men destitute of property she admitted not into her militia (her only army). I have been extremely concerned at the separation of the Connecticut men from our army; it augured not an ardent enthusiasm for liberty and glory. We still have an army before Boston, and I should be extremely happy to hear substantial proofs of their glory: I am still hopeful of great things from our army before Boston when joined by the regiments now forming, which want of bread will probably soon fill. Notwithstanding the predilection I have for my countrymen, I remark with grief, that hitherto our troops have displayed but few marks of Spartan or Roman enthusiasm. In the sincerity of my heart I adjure the reader to believe, that no person is more sensibly afflicted by hearing the enemies of America remark, that no general ever fell singly and so ingloriously unrevenged before the inauspicious affair of Quebec. I am under no doubt, however, that we shall become as famed for martial courage as any nation ever the sun beheld. Sanguine as I am, respecting the virtue and courage of my countrymen, depending on the history of mankind since the Christian æra, I cannot however imagine, that zeal for liberty will animate to such glorious efforts of heroism, as religious enthusiasm has often impelled its votaries to perform. If the cruel unrelenting tyrant Philip the second of Spain had never attempted to introduce into the Low Countries the infernal Tribunal of the Inquisition, it is most probable, that the present States of Holland would to this time have remained provinces to Spain, and patiently paid the fiftieth penny and other grievous exactions. Certain it is, that the fanatics of Scotland and people of England had never armed against the first Charles, if religious enthusiasm had not more powerfully agitated their minds than zeal for liberty; the operations of which on the human mind hath, since the æra in question, ever been more languid than the former most powerful passion. These hardy assertions are supported as well by notorious facts, as by the learned Hume and other judicious historians. I cannot here omit remarking the inconsistency of human nature. The Scotch, the most furious enthusiasts then in Europe, were slaughtered like sheep by Cromwell at Dunbar, where their formidable

army hardly made any resistance, if we except that made by a handful of loyalists, destitute of that passion. Certain it is, that those enthusiasts were often cut in pieces by their countryman the gallant marquis of Montrose, whose troops (Highlanders and other loyalists) held Presbyterianism in contempt.

With the utmost deference to the honorable Congress, I do not view the most distant gleam of aid from foreign powers. The princes alone capable of succouring us are the sovereigns of France and Spain. If, according to our Author, we possess an eighth part of the habitable globe, and actually have a check on the West India commerce of England, the French indigo and other valuable West India commodities, and the Spanish galleons, are in great jeopardy from our power. The French and Spaniards are therefore wretched politicians, if they do not assist England in reducing her colonies to obedience.—Pleasantry apart, can we be so deluded to expect aid from those princes, which, inspiring their subjects with a relish for liberty, might eventually shake their arbitrary thrones—Natural avowed enemies to our sacred cause, will they cherish, will they support the flame of liberty in America, ardently intent on extinguishing its latent dying sparks in their respective dominions? Can we believe, that those princes will offer an example so dangerous to their subjects and colonies, by aiding those provinces to independence? If independent, aggrandized by infinite numbers from every part of Europe, this continent would rapidly attain power astonishing to imagination. Soon, very soon, would we be conditioned to conquer Mexico, and all their West India settlements, which to annoy, or possess, we indeed are most happily situated. Simple and obvious as these truths are, can they be unknown to the people and princes of Europe? Be it however admitted, that those princes, unmindful of the fatal policy of Richlieu's, arming Charles's subjects against him, and the more fatal policy of Lewis the fourteenth permitting our glorious deliverer to effect the Revolution: I say, be it admitted that those princes, regardless of future consequences and the ineptitude of the times, are really disposed to succour us; say, ye friends of liberty and mankind, would no danger accrue from an army

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of French and Spaniards in the bosom of America? Would you not dread their junction with the Canadians and Savages, and with the numerous Roman Catholics dispersed throughout the Colonies?

Let us now briefly view the pre-eminently envied state of Great Britain. If we regard the power of Britain, unembarrassed with continental connections and the political balance we may justly pronounce her what our author does America, "A match for all Europe." Amazing were the efforts of England in the war of Queen Ann, when little benefited by colony commerce, and ere she had availed herself of the courage, good sense, and numbers of the people of Scotland and Ireland.

That England then prescribed laws to Europe, will be long remembered. Last war her glory was, if possible, more eminently exalted: in every quarter of the globe did victory hover round her armies and navies, and her fame re-echoed from pole to pole: at present Great Britain is the empire of Europe. It is not exaggeration to affirm, that the Russians principally are indebted for their laurels to her power, which alone retained France from preventing the ruin of her ancient faithful ally the Ottoman Porte. Superfluous it were to enumerate her powerful alliances, or mention her immense resources: her raising the incredible sums of eighteen, nineteen, and twenty-two millions sterling for the service of the years 1759, 60, and 61, was more astonishing to Europe than the victories of her fleets and armies. The annual rents of the kingdom of England only, many years ago, amounted to thirty-three millions sterling. Thirty-five millions bushels of wheat are annually produced in that kingdom, and perhaps as many bushels of other grain. Twelve millions of fleeces of wool are there yearly shorn. In short, the kingdom is a perfect bee-hive in numbers and industry; and is said to contain more industry, consequently more wealth, than all the rest of Europe. The famed Hume says, "I should as soon dread, that all our rivers and springs should be exhausted, as that money should abandon a kingdom, where there are people and industry." The British navy, at the close of the last war, consisted of nearly two hundred ships of the line, and one hundred large

large frigates, and about one hundred smaller frigates, or other armed vessels. Since the peace, I believe, the navy has been most vigilantly preserved by lord Sandwich, (said to be as equal to that arduous department as any man in Europe). Since the war, several capital ships have annually been built; and it is most certain, that on six months notice Great Britain could equip fleets, sufficiently formidable, to contend with all the naval force that could or would act against her. The immense quantity of naval and other stores, in the different arsenals, with the royal navy*, cannot at this time be worth less than twenty millions sterling. The island of Great Britain, between six and seven hundred miles in length, and upwards of two thousand miles in circumference, and being every where indented with harbours, forms (with other causes) such nurseries of seamen as the world cannot produce.

Let us now examine our author's account of the navy of Great Britain. "It is, says he, worth no more than three millions and a half sterling." This in effect will reduce it to ten second rate ships of war, ten third rate, fifteen fourth rate, ten ships of forty guns, ten of thirty-six, and eight of twenty. "If America, says he, had only a twentieth part of the naval force of Britain, she would be by far an over-match for her; because, as we neither have or claim any foreign dominion, our whole force would be employed on our own coast; where we should in the long-run have two to one the advantage of those who had three or four thousand miles to sail over before they could attack us, and the same distance to return, in order to refit and recruit. And although Britain by her fleet hath a check over our trade to Europe, we have as large a one over her trade to the West Indies, which, by laying in the neighbourhood of the Continent, lies entirely at its mercy."

Were it lawful to joke on so serious an occasion, I would remind the reader of our author's modesty, in saying, "that we claim no foreign dominion;" since we

* Seventeen capital ships were built from 1763 until 1771.

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are the most numerous and best disciplined army under the heaven, and a navy sufficiently strong to combat that of Great Britain; for our present naval armament compose a fleet more than equal to a twentieth part of the British navy (according to our author's estimation). Notwithstanding our author's delicacy, relying on the well known utility of melasses to the New-England governments, I hope they will order admiral Manly to seize Jamaica and the other West India islands. The admiral cannot be at a loss for men; since, according to our author, "a few social sailors will soon instruct a sufficient number of active land-men in the common work of a ship." I do indeed confess, that the British ships of war are constantly equipped altogether with very social sailors; and as constantly drub the French ships, double mann'd with active land-men, tho' sufficiently instructed by a few social sailors. The reader will perceive, that our author has humbled the naval power of Britain with more facility than France and Spain could have done; and has also expelled her from our ports with happier success than did Spain, who was compelled to yield her Gibraltar and Portmahon for the conveniency of her fleets and commerce.

We must indeed allow, that Spain, tho' possessed of Mexico and Peru, cannot maintain the most numerous and best disciplined army under heaven, nor equip a navy fit to contend with the fleets of Britain. It must also be confessed, that he makes Great Britain very favourably dispose of her humbled navy, by employing nineteen parts of it in the Mediterranean, Asia, Africa, and I know not where; when he knows we have so great a check on her West India trade, a commerce of the last importance to her.

I would blush for poor human nature, did I imagine that any man, other than a bigot, could believe these ridiculous stories, these arrant gasconades, respecting our numerous and best disciplined army under heaven, about our navy, and a few social sailors, and that France and Spain will not assist us (who by-the-by, according to our author, are able to conquer them) until playing upon words, we declare ourselves independent. Can a reason-
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able being for a moment believe that Great Britain, whose political existence depends on our constitutional obedience, who but yesterday made such prodigious efforts to save us from France, will not exert herself as powerfully to preserve us from our frantic schemes of independency? Can we a moment doubt, that the sovereign of Great Britain and his ministers, whose glory as well as personal safety depends on our obedience, will not exert every nerve of the British power to save themselves and us from ruin?

"Much, says our author, has been said of the strength of Britain and the Colonies, that in conjunction they might bid defiance to the world; but this is mere presumption; the fate of war is uncertain."

Excellent reasoning, and truly consistent with our author! We of ourselves are a match for Europe, nay for the world; but in junction with the most formidable power on earth, why then the matter is mere presumption; the fate of war is uncertain. It is indeed humiliating to consider that this author should vamp up a form of government for a considerable part of mankind, and in case of its succeeding, that he probably would be one of our tyrants, until we prayed some more illustrious tyrant of the army to spurn him to his primeval obscurity; from all his ill-got honours flung, turned to that dirt from whence he sprung. "A government of our own is our natural right," says our author. "Had right decided, and not fate the cause, Rome had preserved her Cato and her laws." Unfortunately for mankind those are fine sounding words, which seldom or ever influence human affairs; if they did, instead of appropriating the vacant lands to schemes of ambition, we must instantly depute envoys to the Indians, praying them to re-enter their former possessions, and permit us quietly to depart to the country of our ancestors, where we would be welcome guests. But, continues our author, "what have we to do with setting the world at defiance? our plan is commerce, and that well attended to, will secure us the peace and friendship of all Europe; because it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free port."

her trade will always be her protection, and her barrenness of gold and silver will secure her from invaders."

I am perfectly satisfied, that we are in no condition to set the world at defiance, that commerce and the protection of Great Britain will secure us peace, and the friendship of all Europe: but I deny, that it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free port, unless they are desirous of depopulating their dominions. His assertions, that barrenness of gold and silver will secure us from invaders, is indeed highly pleasant: have we not a much better security from invasions? viz. the most numerous and best disciplined army under heaven; or has our author already disbanded them? Pray how much gold and silver do the mines of Flanders produce? and what country so often has seen its unhappy fields drenched with blood, and fertilized with human gore? The princes of Europe have long dreaded the emigration of their subjects to America; and we are sensible, that the king of Prussia is said more than once to have hanged newlanders, or those who seduced his subjects to emigrate. I also humbly apprehend, that Britain is a part of Europe. Now, old gentleman, as you have clearly shewn, that we have a check upon her West India trade, is it her interest to give us a greater check upon it, by permitting America (as you express it) to become a free port? can we suppose it to be her interest to lose her valuable commerce to the Colonies, which effectually she would do, by giving up America to become your free port? if therefore it is the interest of all Europe to have America a free port, the people of Britain are extremely simple to expend so many millions sterling to prevent it. "It is repugnant to the nature of things, to all examples from former ages, to suppose that this Continent can long remain subject to any external power."

Antiquity affords us no eclclaircissement respecting the future government of America. Rome, situated in a sterile corner of Italy, long, long retained the then world in chains, and probably had maintained her dominion longer, had not the Cross, removing the empire to Byzantium,

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weakened the eagles, and in turn justly been destroyed by the Barbarians. I see no reason to doubt, that Great Britain may not long retain us in constitutional obedience. Time, the destroyer of human affairs, may indeed end her political life by a gentle decay; like Rome, she may be constrained to defend herself from the Huns and Alaricks of the north. Ingratefully should we endeavour to precipitate her political demise; she will devise every expedient to retain our obedience, and rather than fail, will participate those provinces amongst the potent states of Europe. "The authority of Great Britain over this continent is a form of government which sooner or later must have an end."

This I have granted; and I add, that a million of revolutions may happen on this continent, for every one of which I am not indeed so over solicitous as our Phoenix of whims, the author of *Common Sense*. "The Colonies have manifested such a spirit of good order and obedience to continental government, as is sufficient to make every person happy on that head."

What is this union so highly vaunted of? whence the marching and counter-marching through almost every province to disarm those denominated tories?—I perfectly agree, that glorious is our union—I execrate those who say, it has been cemented by every species of fraud and violence; yet notwithstanding I dread its fragility, were an army of Britons in the middle of our country. As the author of *Common Sense* is now in the grand monde, and cannot be acquainted with the language of many people in the provinces, I will communicate the general purport of their discourse.—"We, say they, do not see through the wisdom of the present times. We remember with unfeigned gratitude the many benefits derived through our connections with Great Britain, by whom but yesterday we were emancipated from slavery and death. We are not indeed unaware, that Great Britain is uniformly reproached with defending us from interested motives. In like manner, however, may every ingrate reproach his benefactor; since all benefactions may be said to flow from no purer fountain. With predilection we view our parent state, and
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wishfully contemplate on our late felicity, almost realizing that state of old, so beautifully feigned by the poets. We venerate the constitution, which with all its imperfections (too often exaggerated) we apprehend almost approaches as near to perfection as human kind can bear. We shudder at the idea of arming with more virulence, more unremitting ardour, against the parent state than against France; by whom our rights, civil as well as religious, certainly were more imminently endangered. With horror we reflect on the former civil wars, when every crime, odious and baneful to human nature, were alternately perpetrated by the soldiers, particularly by the Independents."

"Every quiet method of peace has been ineffectual: our prayers have been rejected with disdain." I do not indeed agree with the people of England in saying, that those who so successfully laboured to widen the breach—desired nothing less than peace. That they who shortly were to command the most numerous and best disciplined army under heaven, and a navy fit to contend with the fleets of England, imagining the time had found us, disdained to be just. I highly venerate a majority of the Delegates: I have not indeed the honour of knowing all the worthy members; however, I wish the gentlemen of the Congress, ere they entered on their important charge, had been better acquainted with the strength of our friends in parliament. I sincerely lament that the King did not receive the last excellent petition from the Congress; and I as sincerely wish that the gentlemen of the Congress had not addressed themselves, at that juncture, to the people of Ireland. "As to government matters," (continues our author) "it is not in the power of Britain to do this continental justice: the business of it will soon be too weighty and intricate to be managed with any tolerable degree of convenience by a power so very distant from us, and so very ignorant of us; for if they cannot conquer us, they cannot govern us. The difference between Pennsylvania and Connecticut, respecting some unlocated lands, shews the insignificance of a British government, and fully proves, that nothing but continental authority can regulate continental matters."

Until the present unhappy period, Great Britain has afforded to all mankind the most perfect proof of her wise, lenient, and magnanimous government of the Colonies—the proofs to which we already have alluded, viz. our supreme felicity and amazing increase. Than the affair of the Connecticut invaders, Omnipotence only could grant us stronger reasons for praying a continuance of our former beneficent government. Most certainly every dispassionate person, as well as the plundered Pennsylvanians, must confess, that the arm of Great Britain alone detained those free-booters aforesaid from seizing the city of Philadelphia, to which without all doubt they have as just a claim as to those fertile regions in Pennsylvania which they surreptitiously have possessed themselves of. In wrath to mankind, should heaven permit our author's new-fangled government to exist, I, as a friend to Pennsylvanians, advise them to explore new settlements, and avoid the cruel mortification of being expelled by the Saints from their delicious abodes and pleasing fields.—“ But (says the author) the most powerful argument is, that nothing but independence (that is, a continental form of government) can keep the peace of the continent, and preserve it inviolate from civil wars. I dread the event of a reconciliation now with Britain, as it is more than probable it will be followed by revolt somewhere; the consequences of which may be far more fatal than all the malice of Britain. Thousands are already ruined by British barbarity, thousands more will probably share the same fate. These men have other feelings than those who have nothing suffered; all they now possess is liberty; what they before enjoyed is sacrificed to its service, and having nothing more to lose, they disdain all submission.”

Here we cannot mistake our author's meaning, that if one or more of the middle or southern Colonies reconcile with Great Britain, they will have war to sustain with New England, “ the consequences of which may be more detrimental than all the malice of Britain.” This terrible denunciation, fortunately for such Colonies, is as futile as its author. Should Great Britain re-establish her authority in the said Colonies by negociation, surely it is not temerity

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to add, that the weight of Britain, in the scales of those provinces, would preponderate against the power of New England. If Britain should reduce the Colonies by arms (which may heaven avert!) the New England provinces will have as little inclination as ability to disturb the peace of their neighbours. I do indeed most sincerely compassionate those unhappy men who are ruined by our unfortunate distractions. I do fervently pray, that Britain and the Colonies may most effectually consider their peculiar infelicity: such attention will do infinite honour to the parent state, who cannot view them as enemies, but as men unhappily irritated by the impolitic measures of Great Britain. "The diminution of trade affords an army, and the necessities of an army create a new trade" (so says our author). I am surprized the ministry, so often reproached with ruining the commerce of Britain, never urged (what was never thought or said before) our author's excellent axiom, "that the diminution, &c." Certain it is, the minority had replied, since the commencement of this century, the diminution of the commerce of France hath afforded her nearly one million of soldiers; but the necessities of this prodigious number of troops created her so bad a commerce, that she hath twice proved bankrupt since, and more than once experienced the miseries of famine.

"If premiums (says our author) were to be given to merchants to build and employ in their service ships mounted with 20, 30, 40, or 50 guns, the premiums to be in proportion to the loss of bulk to the merchants; fifty or sixty of those ships, with a few guard ships on constant duty, would keep up a sufficient navy, and that without burdening ourselves with the evil so loudly complained of in England, of suffering their fleets in time of peace to lie rotting in their docks."—Yield the palm of ingenuity to our author, ye De Wits, Colberts, Pelhams, and Pitts. He hath outdone ye by constructing a beautiful navy, alas! on paper only.——First, no nation in Europe depends on such ships for her defence. Secondly, such ships would be unfit to contend with capital ships. Thirdly, in the hour of danger, these ships on their voyage

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or return would alternately be taken by an active enemy. Lastly, six times as many such ships would be unequally matched with that part of the naval power of Great Britain, which she actually could spare to combat on our coasts. This cannot be thought exaggeration, if we consider that the British navy, last war, carried about seventeen thousand guns, and upwards of ninety-five thousand social seamen. "No country (says our author) is so happily situated, or internally capable of raising a fleet as America. Tar, timber, iron, and cordage, are her natural produce." He speaks of forming a fleet as if he could do it by his fiat. A third rate ship of the line fitted for sea is allowed to cost 74,000*l.* sterling, which at the present exchange is about 129,000*l.* Now as labour, sail cloth, cordage, and other requisites are dearer than in Europe, we may reasonably suppose the advanced price at twenty-five per cent. which makes the amount 154,000*l.* We must next suppose our navy equal to that of France, which consists of sixty-four ships of the line (fifty gun ships inclusive) twenty-five frigates, with ships of inferior force. In case of independence, we cannot admit a smaller naval force. Indeed, when joined to the fleets of France and Spain, the navies so united, and navigated principally by landsmen, instructed by a few social sailors, will be vastly inferior to the squadrons of Britain. The amount therefore of such a navy will only require the trifling sum of 12,625,000*l.* currency, which I am very willing to believe we can spare, being scarcely one fourth the value of our property real and personal. With excellent management, our navy would last eight, nine, or ten years: we therefore would find it extremely convenient to rebuild it constantly at the expiration of that term: of this there cannot be a doubt, when we remember with our author, "that ship-building is America's greatest pride. The vast empire of Russia is almost shut out from the sea, wherefore her boundless forests, her tar, iron, and cordage, are only articles of commerce." I reply, that Russia containing ten times our numbers, is destitute of industry and commerce. She has ports sufficient to build and contain a navy to subdue the world. Destitute, as we have remarked, of industry and commerce, her navy is in

considerable; and being equipt with landsmen, cannot figure against ships navigated by social sailors. Who can doubt the ability of Spain to build a navy as formidable as that permitted to Great Britain (by the author of Common Sense)? In her island of Cuba, possessed of an immensity of fine cedar, she might construct a navy as formidable as that of Great Britain, but to what purpose, other than to adorn the triumph of her enemies; unless she could arm her ships otherwise than by active landsmen, instructed by a few social sailors. Our author says, "that the Terrible, Capt. Death, stood the hottest engagement of any ship last war, yet had not twenty sailors on board," (though her complement of men was upwards of two hundred).

We do indeed confess ourselves doubtful on this head, and therefore wish our author had produced his authority. We do apprehend, that naval actions very generally depend on seaman-ship, that is, on dextrously working the ship during the combat. Now the judicious reader will remember, that ships of war in engagement cannot be navigated by a few social sailors, nor even by a bare competency, unless such sailors are more invulnerable than was the great Achilles.

"Were the continent (says our author) crowded with inhabitants, her sufferings under the present circumstances would be intolerable, the more sea ports we had, the more we should have both to defend, and to lose." This is rather incomprehensible; I cannot imagine, that we would be less formidable with ten times our present numbers; if at present we can defend one sea-port, surely, with ten times as many inhabitants, we could equally defend ten. If with our present numbers, we are a match for the world, consequently with ten times as many, we would be a match for ten worlds, which would indeed be prodigious!

"The infant state of the Colonies, as it is called, so far from being against, is an argument in favour of independence." This assertion is as absurd, as if he had maintained, that twenty is inferior in number to two. "But the injuries and disadvantages we sustain by that connection, are without number, and our duty to mankind at large, as well as to ourselves, instruct us to renounce the alliance. Because any

any submission to, or dependence upon Great Britain, tends directly to involve this continent in European wars and quarrels. As Europe is our market for trade, we ought to form no political connection with any part of it." Innumerable are the advantages of our connection with Britain; and a just dependence on her is a sure way to avoid the horrors and calamities of war. Wars in Europe will probably than heretofore become less frequent; religious rancour, which formerly animated princes to arms, is succeeded by a spirit of philosophy extremely friendly to peace. The princes of Europe are or ought to be convinced by sad experience, that the objects of conquest are vastly inadequate to the immense charge of their armaments. Prudential motives, therefore, in future, will often dictate negotiation, instead of war. Be it however admitted, that our speculations are nugatory, and that as usual, we are involved in war; in this case we really do not participate a twentieth part of the misery and hardships of war, experienced by the other subjects of the empire. As future wars will probably be carried on by Britain in her proper element, her success will hardly be doubtful; nor can this be thought audacity, if we remember the great things effected by Britain in her naval wars, then secondary objects to her Germanic connections, to which she now politically seems indifferent. Our sailors navigating our vessels to the West Indies during war, are exempted from impressment; and if our trade to any part of Europe is then stagnated, it flows with uncommon rapidity in the West Indies; nor is the object of captures inconsiderable.

Our author surely forgets, that when independent, we cannot trade with Europe, without political connections, and that all treaties made by England or other commerical states are, or ought to be, ultimately subservient to their commerce. "But (says our author) admitting that matters were now made up what would be the event? I answer, the ruin of the continent, and that for several reasons." Reconciliation would conduct us to our former happy state. The happiness of the governed is without doubt the true interest of the governors; and if we aim not at independence, there cannot be a doubt of receiving every advantage

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relative to laws and commerce that we can desire. Montesquieu speaking of the people of England says, "They know better than any people on earth, how to value at the same time these three great advantages, religion, liberty, and commerce." "It is a matter worthy of observation, that the more a country is peopled, the smaller their armies are." This indeed would be worthy of observation, did not daily experience controvert it. The armies of Russia, France, Austria, England, and Prussia, are certainly more numerous than those of Spain, Sweden, Denmark, Portugal, and Sardinia. Now, the first five states contain nearly sixty millions, and the last kingdoms do not contain fourteen millions of people. "In military numbers, the ancients far exceeded the moderns, and the reason is evident, for trade being the consequences of population, men become too much absorbed thereby to attend to any thing else; commerce diminishes the spirit both of patriotism, and military defence."

Every man of sense now rejects the fabulous numbers of the army of Xerxes, and other fabled armies of antiquity. The ancient armies did not exceed in numbers the armies of the moderns. If so, their states had been desolated by the horrid carnage of their battles, arising from the military spirit of defence, from the nature of their arms, and the arrangement of their armies, which permitted the combatants to buckle together, who seldom gave quarter. The Roman armies never exceeded twenty-five legions, which, including auxiliaries, did not exceed two hundred and fifty thousand, a number greatly inferior to the armies of France or perhaps Britain during war. Notwithstanding my ardour for liberty, I do most fervently pray, that we may never exchange the spirit of commerce for that of military defence, even at the price of augmenting our armies. Let us hear the testimony of Montesquieu in favour of commerce: "Commerce, says he, is a cure for the most destructive prejudices; for it is almost a general rule, that wherever we find agreeable manners, there commerce flourishes. Let us not be astonished then, if our manners are now less savage than formerly. Commerce has every where diffused a knowledge of all nations; these are compared one with another, and

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from this comparison arise the greatest advantages. Peace is the natural effect of trade, &c." The Athenian people, perhaps the most respectable of antiquity, did not long possess a commercial spirit, but were almost continually afflicted by this spirit of military defence. The common people in effect distributed the public revenues amongst themselves, while the rich were in a state of oppression. According to Lysius the orator and others, it was their custom, when in want of Money, to put to death some of the rich citizens, as well as strangers, for the sake of the forfeiture. In short, could we enumerate the infinite train of misfortunes inflicted on mankind in every clime and age by this self-same spirit of military defence, our readers would surely join us in opinion, that commerce has most happily humanized mankind. I am not unaware, that there are many declamations against commerce; these I have ever regarded as trials of wit, rather than serious productions. Our author's antipathy, and extreme aversion to commerce, is easily accounted for. If his independence takes place, I do aver, that commerce will be as useless as our searching for the philosopher's stone. "And history (says he) sufficiently informs us, that the bravest achievements were always accomplished in the non-age of a nation." The Greeks in their early state were pirates, and the Romans robbers, and both warred in character. Their glorious actions were performed (if I may so express myself) in the manhood of their empire. Carthage, Greece, Asia, Spain, Gaul, and Britain, were not indeed conquered during the non-age of the republic. Agincourt, Cressy, Oudenard, Ramillies, Blenheim, Dettingen, and Minden, surely were not fought in the infancy of the English empire. "With the encrease of commerce, England has lost her spirit." This is really a curious discovery; who is unacquainted, that the English are the lords and factors of the universe, and that Britain joins to the commerce of Tyre, Carthage and Venice, the discipline of Greece, and the fire of old Rome? "The city of London submits to continued insults, with the patience of a coward. The more men have to lose, the less willing they are to venture, and submit to courtly power w

the trembling duplicity of a spaniel." That an inconsiderable part of the people in London submit to a person not very honourably distinguished in the world is certain; but that the city of London submits to continued insults is certainly a mistake. I suppose our author means, that by submitting to the best laws on earth, they submit to continued insults. The rich, whom he so very honourably distinguishes, can be at no loss for his meaning. An agrarian law would perhaps be convenient for himself and his independents. It may not however be amiss to remind him of that, which in the multiplicity of his projects he may have forgot, viz. that the richest part of the community will always be an overmatch for the poorest part. "It may be difficult (says our author) if not impossible, to form this continent into a government half a century hence."

Here I humbly apprehend our author's meaning is truly conspicuous. This Continent fifty years hence infallibly will be richer and much better peopled than at present; consequently abler to affect a revolution. But, alas! ere that period our author will be forgotten: impelled therefore by his villainous ambition, he would rather precipitate his country into every species of horror, misery, and desolation, than forego his fancied protectorship. "But if you have (says our author) and still can shake hands with the murderers, then are ye unworthy the name of husband, father, friend, or lover; and, whatever may be your rank or title in life, you have the heart of a coward and the spirit of a sycophant, &c. To talk of friendship with those in whom our reason forbids us to have faith, and our affections wounded through a thousand pores instructs us to detest, is madness and folly."

Ye that are not drunk with fanaticism answer me. Are these words dictated by peace, or base foul revenge, the constant attendant on cowards and sycophants? Does our author, so perfectly versed in scripture, mean to conduct us to peace or desolation? Or is he fit to legislate for men or devils? Nations after desolating each other (happily for mankind) forgive, forget, and reconcile; like individuals who quarrel, reconcile, and become friends. Following the

laudable example of the Congress, we lately have most readily shaken hands with our inveterate enemies the Canadians, who have scalped nearly as many of our people as the British troops have done: Why therefore may we not forgive and reconcile?—By no means: it blasts our author's ambitious purposes. The English and Scotch, since the first Edward's time, have alternately slaughtered each other (in the field of Bannockburn more men fell than are now in the New England provinces) to the amount of several hundred thousand, and now view each other as subjects; despising the efforts of certain turbulent spirits, tending to rekindle the ancient animosity. Many of the unhappy men, criminally engaged with the Pretender, reconciled by humane treatment to that family against whom they rebelled, served in their armies a few years after. Indeed the conduct of the Canadians to our troops as effectually illustrates our doctrine as it reprobates the anti-christian diabolical tenets of our Author.—“The unwarrantable stretch likewise which that house made in their last sitting, to gain an undue authority over the Delegates of that province, ought to warn the people at large, how they trust power out of their own hands. A set of instructions for the Delegates were put together, which, in point of sense and business, would have dishonored a school-boy, and after being approved by a few, a very few, without doors, were carried into the house, and there passed in behalf of the whole Colony. Whereas, did the whole Colony know with what ill will that house hath entered on some necessary measures, they would not hesitate a moment to think them unworthy of such a trust.” This very insidious charge we cannot read without indignation. If the Pennsylvanians had happily adhered to their virtuous resolves, it is more than probable, that a constitutional reconciliation had ere now taken place. Unfortunately rescinding their opinions, they perhaps adopted the sentiments of certain persons, by no means superior in virtue and knowledge. Those not inebriated with independency will certainly allow, that the instructions to their delegates were dictated by the true spirit of peace, justice, and exalted policy. If inspiration had dictated those resolves, obnoxious as they are to independency, our author had reprobated them. How dare the

author

author of Common Sense say, "that they attempted to gain an undue authority over the delegates of their province?" Who so proper to instruct them as those chosen by the people? Not in the hour of passion, riot, and confusion, but in the day of peace and tranquil reflection. The gentleman whom our author impotently attacks in this and other innuendos, will be long revered by his grateful countrymen and the friends of mankind, as well for his true patriotism and extensive abilities as his unbounded benevolence. Would we profit by the unhappy examples of our ancestors (which, alas! mankind too seldom do) let us remember the fate of those illustrious patriots of the first Charles's time: allied at first with the independents, they did not suspect those execrable hypocrites of the horrid design of destroying the king and constitution: when they saw through their abominable views, it was too late to save the king and kingdom; for the independents had seized the sovereignty. Soon as they were firmly possessed of power, they persecuted those illustrious patriots with more unrelenting virulence than the professed advocates of arbitrary power. Every virtuous Pennsylvanian must be fired with indignation at the insidious attack made by this independent on the respectable assembly of his province. Indeed the assembly of Pennsylvania in this unworthy treatment have a sure earnest of their future expectations.—"It is the custom of nations (says our author) when any two are at war, for some other powers, not engaged in the quarrel, to step in as mediators, and bring about the preliminaries of a peace. But while America calls herself the subject of Britain, no power, however well disposed she may be, can offer her mediation: wherefore, in our present state, we may quarrel on for ever."

Nations, like individuals, in the hour of passion attend to no mediation; but when heartily drubbed, and tired of war, are very readily reconciled, without the intervention of mediators; by whom belligerents were never reconciled until their interests or passions dictated the pacification. If we may use our author's elegant language, mediation is "farical." I grant, however, that the idea of our forcing England by arms to treat with us is brilliant. "It is unreasonable (continues our author) to suppose, that France and Spain

Spain will give us any kind of assistance, if we mean only to make use of that assistance for the purpose of repairing the breach, and strengthening the connection between Britain and America; because those powers would be sufferers by the consequences."

Considering "we have the most numerous and best disciplined army under heaven, and a fleet fit to contend with the navy of Britain," we must suppose our author's brain affected by dwelling constantly on his beloved independency, else he would not have the imbecility to require the assistance of France and Spain. The manner of his prevailing on France and Spain to assist us is also a strong proof of his insanity. Did those powers hesitate to succour the Scotch rebels in 1745, because they did not declare themselves independent? It then was their interest to create a diversion, alas! too serious in the sequel for the deluded rebels in that kingdom: and were they now interested in aiding us, they undoubtedly would do it in spite of quibbles. In such case, ere this time their armies and navies had joined us without interruption: for we must confess, that the efforts of Britain hitherto would not have precluded the republic of Genoa from aiding us. Suppose our author had a son, or an apprentice, eloped to his intimate acquaintance, and desired to enter into his service. If this person replied to the youth, I know your apprenticeship is unexpired; notwithstanding, declare yourself a free man, and I will hire and protect you. I demand, would such odious, ridiculous duplicity render our supposed person less criminal in the eyes of our author, or render the example less dangerous to his own apprentice? "Were a manifesto (says our author) dispatched to foreign courts, &c." This also is a conclusive proof of our author's maniacum delirium. Our author "challenges the warmest advocate for reconciliation to shew a single advantage this continent can reap by being connected with Great Britain. I repeat the challenge. Not a single advantage is derived: our corn will fetch its price in any market in Europe." Were the author's assertions, respecting our power, as real as delusive, a reconciliation on liberal principles with Great Britain would be most excellent policy. I wave familiarity of manners, laws, and customs, most friend-

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ly indeed to perpetual alliance. The greatest part of our plank, staves, shingles, hoops, corn, beef, pork, herrings, and many other articles, could find no vent but in the English islands: the demand for our flour would also be considerably lessened. The Spaniards have no demand for these articles, and the French little or none. Britain would be a principal mart for our lumber, part of our grain, naval stores, tobacco, and many other articles, which perhaps are not generally wanted in any kingdom in Europe. If it is suggested, that the English islands, impelled by necessity, would trade with us, I reply, that it is not uncommon to see English flour for sale in those islands, as our merchants have more than once found to their cost. Since 1750 flour hath sold in the islands at ten and twelve per cent. the price being reduced by flour from England.

Britain is also better calculated to supply us with woollen goods, and other necessary articles, than any kingdom in Europe. Should a separation ensue, Britain will open an extensive commerce to the Baltick and Russia for all, or many of the commodities she now receives from us; the Russians, since their last glorious treaty with the Port, can now export the commodities of their most fertile Ukraine through the Mediterranean; until that period they were constrained to carry their hemp eight or nine hundred miles to the Baltick; whence, by a long and dangerous navigation, it reached the different ports in the Atlantic. I need not inform the reader that such immense land carriage precluded the subjects of Russia from raising wheat, which generally sold in the Ukraine for ten-pence per bushel, as did rye at five-pence in that extensive region; than which no country on earth is more happily adapted for that grain: the British nation, pre-eminently distinguished for industry and enterprize, will establish factories in the provinces of Russia, and animate those people to emulate our productions, which they will transport by the Mediterranean to the ports of Europe and the West Indies.—By these means, and the culture of Poland, our grain would probably be reduced to its pristine price, two shillings and six-pence. As our author is so violently bent against reconciliation, he must either

either suppose a constant war with the incensed power of England, or admit that he is a proper inhabitant of the domains of Ariosto (the world in the moon); now, admitting "we have the most numerous and best disciplined army under heaven, and a navy formidable for that of England;" pray what are our resources to pay such considerable armaments? although I do not wish to mortify my countrymen, I must acknowledge, that the neat proceeds of all our produce is inadequate to that end: our author allows "that we have a considerable check on the West India commerce of Britain, and that Great Britain has a considerable check upon our European trade."

In case Great Britain insults therefore our European bound ships, we have only to order our admirals to seize their West Indiamen. Unfortunately, the Algerines and other piratical states of Africa have no West-India commerce; and not having the clearest distinctions of thine and mine, will be apt to seize our vessels. Our author affirms, "that our trade will always be our protection." I therefore crave his pardon, and shall believe, that the sight of our grain, and smell of the New England codfish, will effectually serve as a Mediterranean pass to the piratical rovers. I do humbly confess my suspicions, lest Portugal, extremely dependent on Great Britain, may not insult us. When independent, we no doubt will receive strong proofs of friendship from France and Spain; nevertheless, with the utmost humility I imagine, could we seize Gibraltar or Portmahon, and there station a formidable squadron of capital ships, we might as effectually protect our commerce, as our trade will protect us: the author of Common Sense confidently affirms, "that our trade will always be its protection." I cannot imagine that his purse or watch would effectually protect him on Hounslow or Blackheath from footpads or highwaymen. Hitherto we have treated of reconciliation on the principles of our being as potent as Great Britain. Let us now consider our army nearly as I have stated it, and our navy as an object by no means subalternary. It now behoves us well to consider, whether it were better to enter the
harbour

harbour of peace with Great Britain, or plunge the ship into all the horrors of war—of civil war. As peace and a happy extension of commerce are objects infinitely better for Great Britain, than war and a diminution of her commerce, it therefore is her interest to grant us every species of indulgence, consistent with our constitutional dependence; should war continue, there can be no doubt of the annihilation of our ships, ports, and commerce by Great Britain. The king's ships now in New England unhappily are more than sufficient to ruin the ports and commerce of these provinces; New York is already secured; and I should be extremely grieved to hear that a small armament were destined against Philadelphia. In the opinion of the best officers of the navy, Philadelphia is accessible to a few forty and fifty gun ships, in despite of our temporary expedients to fortify the river Delaware. If such opinion is groundless, the ministry by their imbecility have befriended us, since by guarding the river Delaware with a few frigates only, they had precluded us from arming our vessels and strengthening the river Delaware. I would remind our author of the constant language and apparent purport of all ranks in opposition to Great Britain: "we have (say they) been the happiest people on earth, and would continue to be so, should Great Britain renounce her claim of taxation; we have no sinister views, we claim not independence; no! perish the thought;" such I believe also was the tenor of the petitions from the congress to his majesty. Now I would ask every man of sentiment, what opinion our friends in Great Britain, nay the whole world will entertain of us, if ingratefully and madly adopting our author's frantic schemes, we reject reasonable terms of reconciliation? will they not most assuredly believe that our popular leaders have by infinite art deluded the unwary people into their pre-concerted schemes, on supposition that the time had found us? those acquainted with Britain must confess, that the minority in parliament hitherto have been our main prop: now independency forever annihilates this our best resource. Let us admit a part of the minority, republicans, or what is more probable,

bable, bent on removing the present ministry from their power, our author's schemes annihilates all their consequence, all their opposition. In case of our independence, should a Barre, or Burke, patronize our government, such patrons would infallibly participate the fate of the great and good De Witts, be torn in pieces by the furious people.—If my remarks are founded on truth, it results that the time hath not found us; that independency is inexpedient, ruinous, and impracticable, and that reconciliation with Great Britain on good terms is our sole resource; it is this alone will render us respectable; it is this alone will render us numerous; it is this only will make us happy.

I shall no longer detain my reader, but conclude with a few remarks on our author's scheme: the people of those colonies would do well to consider the character, fortune, and designs of our author and his independents; and compare them with those of the most amiable and venerable personages in and out of the congress, who abominate such nefarious measures; I would humbly observe, that the specious science of politics is of all others the most delusive. Soon after the Revolution the ablest statesmen in England and other parts of Europe confidently predicted national ruin, infallible ruin, soon as the public debt exceeded fifty millions sterling: the nation, now indebted nearly thrice that sum, is not arrived at the zenith of her credit and power. It is perhaps possible to form a specious system of government on paper which may seem practicable, and to have the consent of the people; yet it will not answer in practice, nor retain their approbation upon trial: "all plans of government (says Hume) which suppose great reformation in the manners of mankind, are merely imaginary."

The fabricators of independency have too much influence to be entrusted in such arduous and important concerns; this reason alone were sufficient, at present, to deter us from altering the constitution: it would be as inconsistent in our leaders in this hour of danger to form a government, as it were for a colonel, forming

his battalion in the face of an enemy, to stop to write an essay on war.

This author's Quixotic system is really an insult to our understanding; it is infinitely inferior to Hume's idea of a perfect commonwealth, which, notwithstanding his acknowledged greatness of genius, is still reprehensible: it is not our business to examine in what manner this author's associates acquired their knowledge in national affairs; but we may predict, that his scheme of independence would soon, very soon, give way to a government imposed on us by some Cromwell of our armies: nor is this sentiment unnatural, if we are attentive to constant experience and human nature: the sublime Montesquieu, so aptly quoted by the congress, unhappily corroborates our doctrine, "from (says he) a manner of thinking that prevails amongst mankind, they set a higher value upon courage than timorousness; on activity than prudence; on strength than counsel. Hence, the army will ever despise a senate, and respect their own officers; they will naturally slight the order sent them by a body of men whom they look upon as cowards, and therefore unworthy to command them; so that as soon as the army depends on the legislative body, it becomes a military one;" and if the contrary has ever happened, it has been owing to some extraordinary circumstances, such as Holland being able to drown her garrisons, and the Venetians having it in their power to compel their troops to obedience by the vicinity of the European armies; resources to which we for ever must be strangers. If independence takes place, the New England men by their consequence therein will assume a superiority impatiently to be borne by the other colonies.

Notwithstanding our author's fine words about toleration, ye sons of peace and true christianity, believe me, it were folly supremè, madness, to expect angelic toleration from New England, where she has constantly been detested, persecuted, and execrated; even in vain would our author, or our Cromwell, cherish toleration; for the people of New England, not yet arrived in the seven-

teenth or eighteenth century, would reprobate her.—It is more than probable to suppose that the New England governments would have no objection to an Agrarian law; nor is it unreasonable to suppose that such division of property would be very agreeable to the soldiers; indeed their general could not, perhaps, with safety to his existence as a general, refuse them so reasonable a gratification, particularly, as he will have more than one occasion for their services; let us, however, admit that our general and troops, contradicting the experience of ages, do not assume the sovereignty. Released from foreign war, we would probably be plunged into all the misery of anarchy and intestine war. Can we suppose that the people of the south would submit to have the seat of empire at Philadelphia, or in New England? or that the people oppressed by a change of government, contrasting their misery with their former happy state, would not invite Britain to re-assume the sovereignty?

A failure of commerce precludes the numerous tribe of planters, farmers and others, from paying their debts contracted on the faith of peace and commerce. They cannot, nor perhaps ought not to pay their debts. A war will ensue between the creditors and their debtors, which will eventually end in a general sponge or abolition of debts, which has more than once happened in other states on occasions similar.

Ye respectable descendants of the planters from Holland and Swisserland, who acknowledge, that your fathers have instructed you to felicitate yourselves in existing under the benign British government, and have taught you to execrate the government of Holland and other popular states, where the unhappy people, unacquainted with trial by jury and other peculiar felicities of British subjects, are (to use the significant language of your fathers) under the harrow of oppressive Demagogues, do ye possess the wisdom to continue your happiness by a well regulated connection with Britain?

Volumes were insufficient to describe the horror, misery, and desolation awaiting the people at large in the Syren
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form of American independence. In short, I affirm that it would be most excellent policy in those who wish for true liberty, to submit by an advantageous reconciliation to the authority of Great Britain; "to accomplish in the long run, what they cannot do by hypocrisy, fraud, and force in the short one." Independence and slavery are synonymous terms.

F I N I S.

The following Publication by RATIONALIS, is printed in this size for the convenience of those Gentlemen who choose to bind it with other Pamphlets, in an Octavo Volume.

The Republican Spirit is indeed at bottom as ambitious as the monarchical.

VOLTAIRE.

THE town has been lately amused with a new political pamphlet, intitled Common Sense.

This piece, though it has taken a popular name, and implies that the contents are obvious, and adapted to the understandings of the bulk of the people, is so far from meriting the title it has assumed, that in my opinion it holds principles equally inconsistent with learned and common sense.

I know not the author, nor am I anxious to learn his name or character; for the book, and not the writer of it, is to be the subject of my animadversions.

It is the glory of a free country to enjoy a free press, and of this, that the sentiments and opinions of the meanest, equally with those of the greatest, are brought to view; for we know by frequent instances, that the rich and high born are not the monopolizers of wisdom and virtue; on the contrary, these qualities are oftner to be found among the middling class in every country, who, being less dissipated and debauched than those who are usually called their betters, apply themselves with more industry to the culture of their understandings, and in reality become better acquainted with the true interests of the society in which they live.

But to my great grief I have too often seen instances of persons in every class of life, whose publications, at the same time they have reflected honour on the parts and genius of the authors, have been so shamefully wanting in candour

andour as to attempt, by the cadence of words, and force of style, a total perversion of the understanding.

The pamphlet in question seems to be plainly calculated to induce a belief of three things :

1st. That the English form of government has no wisdom in it, and that it is by no means so constructed as to produce the happiness of the people, which is the end of all good government.

2d. That monarchy is a form of government inconsistent with the will of God.

3d. That now is the time to break off all connection with Great Britain, and to declare an independence of the Colonies.

It must be obvious to every impartial eye, that the author reasons from the abuses of, against the benefits derived from, the English constitution; and after reciting these abuses concludes very unfairly, that "it is incapable to produce what it seems to promise."—For if an argument of this sort is to be received, it will prove perhaps rather more than the author would chuse—it would even prove that the Jewish theocracy was quite as improper, and as incapable to produce what it aimed at, as the reprobated English government.—The records of sacred history informs us, that the law was given to the people from God, and that the great Jehovah himself condescended to call them his *chosen people*. He signally interposed in their behalf in bringing them out of bondage, in preserving them from the rage of Pharaoh's army, and seating them in a land flowing with milk and honey, under his immediate government and laws, "written with his own finger."

"And he will love thee and bless thee, and multiply thee: he will also bless the fruit of thy womb and the fruit of thy land, thy corn and thy wine, and thy oil; the increase of thy kine, and the flocks of thy sheep, in the land which he swore unto thy fathers to give thee." Deut. vii. 13.

"Thou shalt be blessed above all people; there shall not be male or female barren among you, or among your cattle." Deut. vii. 14.

But

But what effects did all these extraordinary favours and promises of the Deity himself produce upon that wicked, perverse, stiff-necked people? Moses tells them,

“From the day that thou didst depart out of the land of Egypt until ye came unto this place, ye have been rebellious against the Lord.” Deut. ix. 7.

“You have been rebellious against the Lord from the day that I knew you.” Deut. ix. 24.

Profane as well as sacred history informs us of the ineffectuality of the best governments and the wisest laws among a corrupt, degenerate people. It does not regularly follow, that if the people are not happy under an excellent form of civil polity, that the fault is in the government, it may be owing to the corruption of the people; and this I take to be the case in Great Britain at this day. When the British parliament is properly balanced, and each branch of the legislature faithfully executes its duty, I think I am safe in affirming there was never yet a form of government in the world so well calculated for the happiness of a free people as this, and yet we are told by the author of the pamphlet, that the “prejudice of Englishmen in favour of King, Lords, and Commons arises as much or more from national pride than reason.” The world has already seen numberless instances of fine-spun political theories, which, like the quackeries of mountebank doctors, are to cure all the political evils to which human nature is liable.—But when the experiment is made, they become astonished at the ill success of their boasted schemes—they find a thousand little passions and interests continually interfering with their designs, and at length retire again to their closets, chagrined they had not thought it necessary to study the great volume of human nature, before they ventured to say what was the best for mankind.

The author, after venting his spleen against the English form of government, comes next to consider the subject of monarchy and hereditary succession; in treating which he plainly discovers the utmost prepossession in favour of a republic. I shall not follow him through his scripture quotations, which he has so carefully garbled to answer his purpose, but beg leave to oppose some authorities to it.

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The celebrated Trenchard, in No. 60, of Cato's Letters, says, "there is no government now upon earth, which owes its formation or beginning to the immediate revelation of God, or can derive its existence from such revelation: it is certain, on the contrary, that the rise and institution, or variation of government, from time to time, is within the memory of men or of histories; and that every government which we know at this day in the world, was established by the wisdom and force of mere men, and by the concurrence of causes evidently human."

"Nor has God by any revelation nominated magistrates, shewed the nature or extent of their powers, or given a plan of civil polity for mankind." (Hutcheson's Moral Philosophy, p. 272.)

"*There being no natural or divine law for any form of government, or that one person rather than another should have the sovereign administration of affairs, or have power over many thousand different families who are by nature all equal, being of the same rank, promiscuously born to the same advantages of nature, and to the use of the same common faculties, therefore mankind is at liberty to choose what form of government they like.*"

"God's providence or permission suffered his own peculiar people the Jews to be under divers governments at divers times; as first under patriarchs, Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c. then under judges, Othniel, Ehud, and Gideon; then under high priests, Eli and Samuel; then under kings, Saul, David, and the rest; then under captains and high priests again, as Zorobabel, Judas Macabees, and his brethren; and the government was lastly taken from them, and they brought under the power of Rome. And that God permits such magistrate or magistrates as the community thinks fit to approve, is plain by the testimony of Holy Scriptures; when God said to Solomon, "By me kings rule, even all the judges of the earth." Prov. viii. 16.

"When the sons of Samuel were judges over Israel, they took bribes and perverted judgment, therefore the elders of Israel desired Samuel to make them a king; and though the elders are only mentioned to have asked a king of

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Samuel,

Samuel, they seem to have been deputed from the whole congregation; for God said unto Samuel, "*Hearken to the voice of the people in all that they say unto thee.*" 1 Sam. viii. 4, 7.

"*And Samuel told the people the manner of the kingdom, and wrote it in a book, and laid it up before the Lord.*" 1 Sam. x. 25. It is plain the manner of the kingdom signifies the constitution of the government, by which was meant the conditions on which Saul was to be king, and they his subjects; for though God had given him the crown, it was to rule the people according to justice and laws."

"After the battle between Saul and the Ammonites, Samuel said to the people, *Come, let us go to Gilgal; and there they made Saul king before the Lord.*" 1 Sam. xi. 1. 5, 6, 7. 14, 15. *Now therefore behold the king, whom ye have chosen, and behold the Lord hath set a king over you.*" 1 Sam. xii. 13.

These latter quotations are taken from the great Lord Somers's book called "the Judgment of whole Kingdoms and Nations concerning the Rights of Kings and the People." This nobleman was Lord high chancellor of England in King William's reign, and was remarkable for his revolution-principles, great learning, and unshaken integrity in public and private life.

It does therefore from the foregoing testimonies appear, that monarchy (especially a limited one, such as that of England) is not inconsistent with the Holy Scriptures, as is set forth in said pamphlet, but that it is as pleasing to the Almighty, if agreeable to the people, as any other form of government, even the author's beloved republic.

The writer next proceeds to inform his readers of the numerous wars and scenes of blood acted in England under their kings, and asserts, that "*Monarchy and succession have laid the world in blood and ashes. It is a form of government which the word of God bears testimony against, and blood will attend it.*" Here are bold assertions indeed. To the latter part I have already endeavoured to make some reply, so far as he asserts it is contrary to the word of God; but will the author's candour permit him to inform his reader of the infinite distractions and mischiefs which

which have happened in the ancient and modern republics? —Under this form there are always two parties, which divide the whole body of the people, and an eternal warfare subsists between them for power. The contest is dreadful enough, but whichever party prevails, there is no rod heavy enough, no sword sufficiently sharp, to punish those whom they have subdued. —It then becomes a many-headed monster, a tyranny of many.

Let any man read with an unprejudiced eye the accounts which historians give us of the famous Grecian Commonwealths, and I will venture to speak for him, that he will not bestow great commendations on them. —The Athenians, a wise and polished people, very often banished their best citizens from an apprehension of their power—a glorious reward for a virtuous citizen, who, as was the case in more instances than one, had preserved his country from destruction. In the latter times of the Carthaginian and Roman republics, what constant scenes of blood and devastation does history present to us—the multitude in a perpetual ferment like the ocean in a storm—in a storm, did I say?—like the waters of the sea, agitated by a dreadful whirlwind, nothing but the fury of one party encountering the rage of another. —Every trace of humanity being thus lost, men change their natures and become as fierce and savage as wolves and tygers.

But let us descend nearer to modern times—let us look for happiness and security in the republic of Holland, so often mentioned, and so little known—let us recollect the fate of the two brothers, Cornelius and John de Wit, Dutch ministers, who were massacred by the people in the year 1672. Holland itself, from being a republic, is become a downright aristocracy. Liberty did not continue long in that country, notwithstanding the blood and treasure that were expended to acquire it. The people, so far from being free, have had no voice for many years past in the election of persons to represent them in the States-General, nor have they any thing to do in the forming of laws by which they are to be governed. Whenever one of them dies, the vacancy is filled up without any interference of the people, and this important change was made in the

state, because of the intolerable feuds and animosities which attended the elections of representatives. Had they been to have chosen a king, what dangerous and destructive tumults must it have produced? Founded on the woeful experience of ages, it is now become a general fixed opinion, that hereditary is preferable to elective monarchy, on account of the terrible disorders, outrages, and confusion which usually attend the election of a king; a pregnant instance of which, in our times, is the kingdom of Poland.

In our own history, we see what was the effect of the much wished for Commonwealth, after the death of the tyrant Charles—it did not produce liberty—it presently ended in arbitrary power. The moment almost after the reins of government fell from Charles's hands, Cromwell took them up, and governed the nation with absolute sway.

I cannot agree with the author of the pamphlet in opinion, that this is the time to declare an independence of the Colonies: this ought to be the dernier resort of America. Let us not yet lose sight of the primary object of the dispute, namely, a safe, honourable, and lasting reconciliation with Great Britain, until we are under a necessity of doing it. If an advantageous accommodation can be had, and a free constitution for this country be established on mutual agreement and compact, it will be better and happier for us. But if justice is still denied us, and we are to contend for liberty by arms, we will meet them in the field, and try our manhood against them, even to spilling the blood of every brave man we have. Should the ministry have recourse to foreign aid, we may possibly follow their example; and, if it be essential then to our safety to declare an independence, I would willingly embrace the necessity.

RATIONALIS.

EXTRACT *from the Second Letter to the People
of Pennsylvania; being that Part of it
which relates to INDEPENDENCY. By a
Writer under the Signature of CATO.*

UPON the whole, it appears that this writer (Cassandra) is more an enemy to the business on which the Commissioners are to be sent, than really apprehensive for our virtue. He seems to have drank deep of the *cup of independency*; to be inimical to whatever carries the appearance of *peace*; and too ready to sacrifice the happiness of a great continent to his favourite plan. Among such writers I pretend not to class myself; for I am bold to declare, and hope yet to make it evident to every honest man, that the true interest of America lies in reconciliation with Great Britain upon constitutional principles; and I can truly say, I wish it upon no other terms.

Why the many publications in favour of independency, with which our presses have lately groaned, have passed hitherto unnoticed, I am not able to determine: but there are certainly times when public affairs become so interesting, that every man becomes a debtor to the community for his opinions, either in speaking or writing. Perhaps it was thought best, where an appeal was pretended to be made to the Common Sense of this country, to leave the people for a while to the free exercise of that good understanding which they are known to possess. Those who made the appeal have little cause to triumph in its success. Of this they seem sensible; and, like true quacks, are constantly pestering us with their additional doses, till the stomachs of their patients begin wholly to revolt. If little notice has yet been taken of the publications concerning independence, it is neither owing to the popularity of the doctrine, the unanswerable nature of the arguments, nor the fear of opposing them, as the vanity of the authors would suggest. I am confident that nine-tenths of the people of Pennsylvania yet abhor the doctrine.

If

If we look back to the origin of the present controversy, it will appear that some among us at least have been constantly enlarging their views, and stretching them beyond their first bounds, till at length they have wholly changed their ground. From the claim of Parliament to tax us, sprung the first resistance on our part; before that unjust claim was set on foot, not an individual, not one of all the profound legislators with which this country abounds, ever held out the idea of independence. We considered our connection with Great Britain as our chief happiness—we flourished, grew rich, and populous to a degree not to be paralleled in history. Let us then act the part of skilful physicians, and wisely adapt the remedy to the evil.

Possibly some men may have harboured the idea of independence from the beginning of this controversy. Indeed it was strongly suspected there were individuals whose views tended that way; but as the scheme was not sufficiently ripened, it was reckoned slanderous, inimical to America, and what not, to intimate the least suspicion of this kind.

Nor have many weeks yet elapsed since the first open proposition for independence was published to the world.—By what men of consequence this scheme is supported, or whether by any, may possibly be the subject of future enquiry. Certainly it has no countenance from the Congress, to whose sentiments we look up with reverence; on the contrary, it is directly repugnant to every declaration of that respectable body. It would be needless to quote particular passages in proof of this, as they are to be met with in almost every page of their proceedings. I will refer to a few only, viz. their Resolves, March 5, 1775—their Declaration, July 6—their Address to the King, July 8—their Letter to the Lord Mayor of London—and more especially their Declaration for a fast, June 12, in which, with the deepest marks of sincerity, they call upon all America to join with them in addressing the great Governor of the world—"humbly beseeching him to avert
 "the desolating judgments with which we are threatened,
 "to bless our rightful sovereign, &c.—that so America
 "may soon behold a gracious interposition of heaven for
 "the

the redress of her many grievances, the restoration of her invaded rights, and reconciliation with the parent state, on terms constitutional and honourable to both."

Will any one be so hardy as to say, that either the appointment or observation of this solemn day was a mere mockery of heaven and earth, or even that any American joined in it who was not sincere?—I trust not. But if multiplying authorities were of any use, I might add the sentiments of our own Representatives in assembly, expressed in the instructions to their Delegates; the sentiments of Maryland in similar instructions; the resolves of New Jersey and New Hampshire; nor shall the much-injured province of Massachusetts' Bay be left out of the catalogue, whose Provincial Congress, while yet bleeding with the wounds received at Lexington, thus addressed the inhabitants of Great Britain—"These are marks of ministerial vengeance against this colony, but they have not yet detached us from our royal sovereign, &c. trusting that in a constitutional connection with the mother country we shall soon be a free and happy people." These were the sentiments of the colony of the Massachusetts, signed by that great martyr to liberty Dr. Warren, and soon after sealed with his blood.

The sentiments of sundry other colonies might be shewn to have corresponded with these.—But this letter has already reached its full length. I shall take some future opportunity to examine the arguments which have been offered to induce a change of these sentiments; and upon the whole I doubt not to make it appear, that independence is not the cause in which America is now engaged, and is only the idol of those who wish to subvert all order among us, and rise on the ruins of their country!

PHILADELPHIA,
March 11th, 1776.

C A T O.

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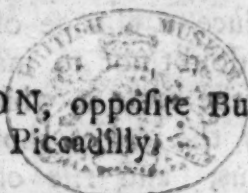
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